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NEW TIMES

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WHAT THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION HAS MEANT FOR ME

Interviews on Leningrad's Palace Square

saluto, compagni!
SALUT, CAMARADES!
Grüße Genossen!
ПРИВЕТ
WELCOME, COMRADES!
ТОВАРИЩИ!
D. MOOR.

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

SDI HOSTAGES?

Only the elimination of nuclear weapons can guarantee the Earth's future. Reykjavik was an extraordinary diplomatic event because it has demonstrated that not only curbs on nuclear weapons but their complete abolition is feasible. The Americans frustrated a truly historic accord when final agreement was near, as Washington was not prepared to give up the arms race.

The selfish interests of the military-industrial complex are clear. The annual $300 billion allocated for SDI is too tempting. Deprived of the arms race, with "star wars" to drive it, the military-industrial complex would have to go without, or at least greatly reduce its appetites.

However, there are other factors, which Washington calls geostrategic. With characteristic bluntness, U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger said that if the U.S. had an effective system capable of rendering Soviet weapons useless, it would regain the position it held when it was the sole possessor of nuclear arms.

Those were indeed "the good old days." The Soviet Union had suffered the harshest war ever. The main rivals for markets and spheres of influence, Europe and Japan, lay in ruins. The A-bomb assured the U.S. world supremacy. With time the dream nurtured then became fixation.

However, the nuclear card was trumped, and this is precisely why a Reykjavik accord could have been possible. The U.S. is now putting its money on a "technological breakthrough" in outer space, a wonder weapon born of the latest technological research (see pp. 18-19). One arms race is being replaced before our very eyes by another costlier and more dangerous one. Ronald Reagan took office "greatly alarmed" by the "window of vulnerability" which Soviet ballistic missiles had supposedly opened. Today he refuses to dismiss that "threat," pressing for an arms race in outer space.

The Strategic Defence Initiative is termed an "anti-missile shield." But why have a shield, if there are no missiles? Here, there has been no satisfactory answer. On the other hand, the verbiage surrounding SDI proliferates. It is now being presented as "an insurance policy" against deceit or a madman with a nuclear bomb. An "insurance policy" costing trillions of dollars? No. The real price of SDI is man's future.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

The creative potential of the Soviet people is truly amazing. From books and magazines I have read I know a little about what your country was like in 1917 and what it is like today, in 1986. After what people went through in a war that destroyed a considerable part of your national wealth one has grounds to say that such a nation can perform the greatest feats man is capable of. There have always been people in your country who have been able not only to overcome with dignity the most difficult situations but to win respect for your country.

Gregorio Gonzalez GARCIA
Madrid, Spain

The peace offensive undertaken by the CPSU is the only course that can make the world a safe place to live in happiness and free of tension. All developing countries, including Bangladesh, can move forward along the path of economic, social and cultural development only in a climate of universal peace. I hope that all democratic and progressive forces in the U.S.A. and the West European countries will support the great movement for stability, harmony and peace.

Zakir AHMED
Dacca, Bangladesh

Your peace efforts inspire us and all others who are with you on the road of socialist upbuilding with hope for a brighter and safer future. All peoples on Earth need peace. But we Vietnamese who have suffered years of the unjust war unleashed by the U.S.A. have a particularly great need for it. Now we firmly believe that there will be no nuclear war. Thanks to your country's peace policy.

Hoang Huu PHUOC
Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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Cover: Photo by V. Baranovsky

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REVOLUTIONARY OPTIMISM

The Sandinist National Liberation Front observes its 25th anniversary

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BENIN TODAY

It was on this square in Cotonou that in January 1977 the people beat back an assault by foreign mercenaries. The new life of this country began on what is now called Heroes' Square.

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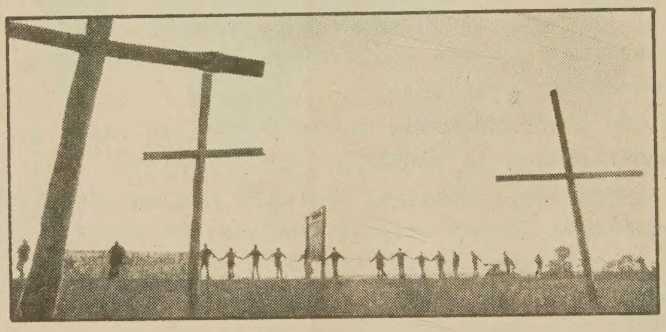

NO PEACE IN HUNSRÜCK

This once quiet corner of southwest F.R.G. is now covered with U.S. bases

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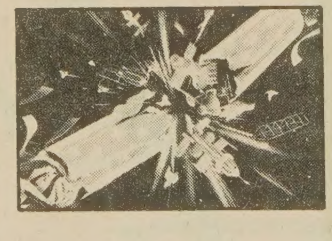

SDI UNADORNED

The Strategic Defence Initiative proved to be the stumbling block at the Reykjavik talks. What makes SDI, already overburdened with unresolved problems, so attractive for the White House?

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CLEAR AWAY THE OBSTACLES

This interview with Nguyen Co Thach, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Communist Party of Vietnam, completes our series of talks with leaders of the foreign policy departments of the three Indo-China countries on the problems of collective security of the Asian-Pacific region.

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SUN YATSEN

Maxim Gorky called this great Chinese revolutionary the Hercules of China

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"PEACE CHILD"

The Soviet-American musicale has its friends and also its enemies in the United States

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ANNIVERSARY REFLECTIONS

VADIM ZAGLADIN

Each time we celebrate another anniversary of the October Revolution we cannot help but look back over the years since then and peep into those to come, thinking about the lessons of the past and the new heights to be attained, about our spectacular achievements and our ambitious plans for the future.

The 69th anniversary of our Revolution, celebrated this year, gives us especially rich food for thought: after all, it has fallen at an extremely dynamic stage in our history, a time of new ideas and innovatory initiatives, of restructuring and new construction when many old stereotypes are being discarded, old formulas acquiring new meaning, and new ones being born, when each day is equivalent to weeks or even months in terms of content, by the standards of the relatively recent past.

It is the acceleration of our development, the complexity and magnitude of the tasks being tackled by the Party and the nation today and the new vistas opening up before us that give us an especially keen awareness of the signal importance of the event that initiated our dynamic socialist progress in general and our current spurt into the future in particular—the Great October Revolution.

Many epoch-making events of the past, revolutions included, had a powerful impact on the society of their day but ultimately lost momentum. The turbulent streams of renovation they gave birth to subsequently ran dry or became stagnant.

The October Revolution is something else again. The "ten days that shook the world" have proved to be more than just a flash in the pan, for they produced an inexhaustible source of high-voltage energy which still keeps the engine of history running and stimulates to vigorous action those who sincerely seek to bring about sweeping changes for the better in the quality of people's lives; those who not only crave these changes but are also able to handle the powerful current called socialism. That was achieved for the first time for the very reason that what happened in October 1917 was not just another revolution, but a revolution that marked a social turning point in history.

Mankind has passed through various stages in its history, including phases of stagnation and regress. Overall, however, society has advanced rising from one level of progress to the next. No Marxist would dream of denying the tremendous headway it has made.

Nevertheless, there is no denying another aspect of the matter. Civilization developed on the basis of private property relationships for millennia, and relied for its progress on the exploitation of man by man—of slaves, peasants and proletarians by the owners of the means of production.

Vicious Circle Broken

In the past epochs, the fruits of civilization were appropriated by a select few, with the bulk of mankind remaining merely the passive objects of history. In fact, the greater the advance in the productive forces, science, technology and culture, the less the workingman benefitted from them. Whatever came his way was a result of fierce class struggle, and tough and, not infrequently, bloody social battles.

This vicious circle was broken by the October Revolution. It did not merely signify a changeover from one socio-economic formation to another, more andvanced one. It put an end to the private ownership of the means of production, which had reigned supreme for centuries, and ushered in the era of emancipated labour, and human emancipation in general.

"The Great October Socialist Revolution," says the Programme of the CPSU, **"became a landmark in world history, determined the general direction and main trends of world development, and initiated the irreversible process of the replacement of capitalism by the new, communist socio-economic formation."**

After October 1917, several other victorious socialist revolutions occurred, freeing fifteen nations from the fetters of class and national oppression. Each of these revolutions merits profound respect, and each has contributed, in its own unique way, to social progress. As a result, the general laws governing the social transformation of society first implemented by the October Revolution were not merely corroborated but lent themselves to more profound study. New experience afforded a deeper insight into them and enriched the theory and practice of the endeavour to transform human life.

Nevertheless, nothing that has happened since October 25 (November 7), 1917, can alter the fact that ours was the first revolution to show the peoples the path to national and social emancipation.

The world's first socialist society has been built in our country, on the vast expanses spreading from the Baltic to the Pacific, from the Arctic to the Pamirs. Here socialism has triumphed and come to stay for the first time in history.

Those who stormed the Winter Palace, beat back the attacks of counterrevolutionaries at home and of interventionists, were inclined to think at times that once the revolution had prevailed and the reign of freedom set in, the rest would come easily of its own accord. That was a mistake. A high-minded mistake, a mistake born of revolutionary optimism, of radiant hope, but a mistake nonetheless.

Our path to a socialist society has not been plain sailing. This is due not only to the fact that at the time of the revolution our country was poor, backward and war-ravaged. These factors certainly had their effect on the rate and, at times, the character of the reforms carried out. But the main cause lay elsewhere.

Capitalism was not constructed by deliberate effort, but evolved spontaneously. It was under feudalism, its predecessor, that the new bourgeois socio-economic phenomena, capitalist private property and the "free labour" system of hire emerged. The bourgeois revolutions only served to bring political institutions and the superstructure as a whole into conformity with the capitalist social relations that had already formed.

On the other hand, socialism does not evolve under capitalism. Only the **prerequisites** for the new system emerge and develop: large-scale production, which becomes public in fact, and not just in theory, and the working class....As for the socialist socio-economic **order** as such, it has never yet come into being anywhere under capitalism. Therefore, the socialist revolution faced tasks no previous revolutions had had to deal with: building a new superstructure and relying on the rule of the working people, to create a new socio-economic structure for society, abolish

private property and replace the exploitation of man by man with the free labour of all, and social inequality with social justice.

The October Revolution accomplished these tasks for the first time in history — again for the first time. But the going was hard....

Lenin said that, as distinct from capitalism, socialism was compelled to blaze a new trail—or rather to grope along. Indeed, Marxist theory contained only general, basic provisions pertaining to the creation of the new system. The details could not possibly have been foreseen—after all, these details can differ substantially from country to country, and from region to region, and depend on a concrete situation at a specific historical juncture. It pays to refresh one's memory of Lenin's postrevolutionary writings. They show how often he rethought and abandoned solutions which had previously seemed correct.

The Lenin period of building socialism is a truly inexhaustible treasure trove of experience, accessible to and suitable for all. I am not saying, of course, that all the practical steps taken by Lenin and Soviet power can and should simply be reproduced under any circumstances and in any country — Lenin himself stressed on more than one occasion that the situation in which our people carried out the revolution was unique. But steadfast, even tough adherence to principle combined with theoretical boldness, creativity and innovation; the capacity to apply the principles of socialism cleverly in the most unexpected circumstances and conditions; realism, sobermindedness, intolerance of narrow dogmatism which prevents one discovering and following new paths—all these salient qualities in Lenin add up to a great school, a school of new thinking, if you will.

Indeed, Lenin gave an example of new thinking by drawing the bold conclusion that socialism can triumph in just one country. He gave an example of new thinking by taking a firm stand for the building of a socialist society in a backward country, with the specific features of the new age as a whole taken into account. He gave an example of new thinking by turning from war-time communism to the New Economic Policy.

In doing so, Lenin had to beat back many attacks. Many "Marxists" dismissed him as a failure and tried to "excommunicate" him from Marxism. But it was Lenin who proved right. Today, on the eve of the seventieth anniversary of the revolution, we have every reason to say that had it not been for Lenin's new thinking, there would have been neither the October Revolution, nor the triumph of socialism in our country.

Today we apply the expression "new thinking" above all to our Party's new line in world affairs and in dealing with pressing international issues. But are not the truly revolutionary measures the Party is carrying out inside the country an example of new thinking as well? These measures are indeed products of dialectical and profoundly innovatory thinking, based on a sober and realistic analysis of objective processes of social development, and presupposing the need for equally realistic practical conclusions.

I find it opportune, even necessary, to note here that the failure of thinking to keep up with the requirements of fast-moving life; hypnotic attachment to formulas which, though basically correct, require flexible application; the tendency to take half-measures instead of going the whole distance; lack of realism, a complacent attitude to shortcomings—all this led to what the 27th Party Congress laid bare with the utmost clarity and frankness: to adverse trends in the life of the country and the deceleration of its development.

It was necessary to take resolute, Lenin-style measures to restore progress to the country, sweep away all the dust and cobwebs and map out clear-cut lines of advance. Such measures are now being taken.

Our Party pioneered the building of socialism. And now, by accelerating the country's socio-economic progress and improving socialism, it is paving the way for communism—again, for the first time in history.

Will to Win

Shall we, the Soviet people, succeed in carrying out our plans? Will things turn out as we ardently hope they will? We are convinced of it. But there must, of course, be certain prerequisites for success. Such prerequisites, indeed several, do exist, the basic and decisive one being the will, determination and ability of our people or what we call the "human factor."

Let us again turn to October 1917.

The October Revolution won, because the masses, the people—above all the working class—had the will to win and were prepared to fight the battle through to victory, because the Party and Lenin had taught their vanguard to do it.

The post-October period called—to a still greater rather than lesser extent—for such qualities as self-awareness combined with an immense sense of purpose and, at the same time, patience and preparedness to deal with workaday problems in a persistently revolutionary manner. For that was the period that saw the beginning of the building of the new life.

As has already been indicated, socialism is a society built by deliberate effort, as the working people's government restructures all socio-economic, political and other patterns of life. But such a restructuring can be a success only if it involves millions, the people. If such involvement is to be achieved, and if the new society is to progress, the consciousness of the millions must be raised to a new level, and the personal interests of each must be linked with the interests of all, the interests of socialism.

Lenin was perfectly aware of this problem. He repeatedly mentioned the difficulties inherent in solving it and pointed out that even after the overthrow of the reign of capital it would be quite some time before the working people, the proletariat were ready to create a new life. Achieving the triumph of socialist ideology and the socialist mentality, Lenin said, amounted to a more difficult and radical revolution than the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie, because the enemies to be defeated now were conservatism, indiscipline and petty-bourgeois egoism. Fighting these enemies, the leader of the October Revolution pointed out, would take years, even after socialist relations had prevailed.

In this sphere, however, as in searching for new lines of advance, one can determine the points of departure, but never the points of arrival. The forms and character of the process of spiritual education will change, but this process cannot possibly stop: generations change, each new stage of social development calls for new and higher levels of awareness, and each new stage of socialist construction requires still greater democracy, still more active popular involvement in this construction and still greater openness in all public activity.

Today the Party is concerned with the human factor. While being an extension of Lenin's ideas, this notion assumes a new quality, as it rests on a new socio-economic and political basis and has to measure up to the new and immeasurably higher requirements of the present day.

The human factor today means new standards in qualifications in accordance with the demands of the scientific and technological revolution; a new and higher sense of social commitment, a new and higher degree of interdependence of personal and public interests, their integration into an organic whole; new morals that measure up to the highest human standards demanded by a society of social justice and ethical purity.

Attaining this level of public awareness, morals and social involvement is no easy matter. Today we have to overcome conservatism, sluggishness and selfishness. These evils can be eradicated only through removing whatever nutrient media exist for them in our socialist society as distinct from those which were found in the bourgeois society of the past.

Our country has now reached a much higher level of development than in the early twenties. But what we need now more than ever are the dynamism, action, efficiency and energy characteristic of the Leninist leadership of that period. This is the conviction our Party, our government and our people are proceeding from.

Simply reread the verbatim reports of the conversations Gorbachev had in the Far East and Siberia, in Krasnodar and Stavropol, and you will sense how eager and ready the nation's leader and the people he talked with are to apply themselves to the tasks set, to work in a new way so that acceleration will bear fruit as soon as possible.

Decree on Peace of Today

. Let us go back once again to the October Revolution.

It was not only a dramatic turning point in our country's social destiny and an earnest of the revolutions to come worldwide. It was also a revolution in international politics.

Lenin's Decree on Peace formulated the new principles which its author considered fundamental to international relations. Having synthesized the best of what the world's thinkers had had to say on matters of war and peace, Lenin developed their views from the angle of the ideals of the working people. It is for this reason that the Decree on Peace, an organic amalgam of lofty democratic ideals and socialist awareness, has lost none of its relevance today.

Over the centuries, wars had been regarded as a "legitimate" means of settling international conflicts and dividing (or redividing) spheres of influence. In its very first decree, the October Revolution announced that predatory wars were "the gravest of crimes against humanity."

The conquest of colonies, the subordination and enslavement of weak and poor countries by large and strong ones, had been common practice in international relations. Lenin's Decree on Peace described colonial oppression, annexations, the joining or subordination of other countries and nations as "seizure and violence."

Any agreements and treaties imposing unfair, plunderous terms on other nations are inadmissible. Soviet Russia proclaimed such treaties null and void.

International relations ought to be based on equality and mutual respect. Mutually profitable and good-neighbourly economic agreements and links must prevail.

It is with the nations and the popular masses that politics, international politics included, should be concerned. "Help the peoples to intervene in questions of war and peace" was a motto of the October Revolution. Hence the renunciation of secret diplomacy by socialism, the unambiguous definition of its foreign policy objectives, and the lack of discrepancy between its words and its actions in the world arena.

It was relatively long ago that Lenin read the draft of his Decree on Peace to the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets. Throughout the period since then Soviet foreign policy has been one of intense endeavour to implement the programme contained in that decree. This effort has not always met with success: it encountered resistance on the part of imperialism and, besides, for several decades the balance of forces was in no way favourable to the cause of peace. Moreover, some of our foreign policy moves are open to critical analysis today in the light of the lessons of history. On the whole, the 69-year record of socialist diplomacy has been one of glorious, truly selfless work for the democratization of international relations.

This period has seen many new ideas, new thoughts and new proposals. Ours was the world's first country to put forward, in Lenin's lifetime, the idea of disarmament and to suggest concrete ways of achieving it. In the thirties our country came up with an idea of collective security which, if put into practice, could have prevented World War II. As far back as 1946 it put forward the idea of banning and eliminating nuclear weapons. It put the abolition of the colonial system on the agenda, got the United Nations first to include the provision on the nations' right to self-determination in its Charter, and then to adopt a resolution on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples. It was socialist diplomacy that advanced the idea of détente and did much to translate it into reality in the early seventies.

All this has gone down for ever in the annals of the history of international relations. As for our time, it would be no exaggeration to say that **the programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons, for setting up a comprehensive international security system, put forward by our Party and formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev this year is the greatest achievement of socialist international policy since the Decree on Peace.**

This realistic programme, which is compatible with the interests of all nations and backed by the might of the international potential of the forces of peace has embodied the hopes and aspirations of millions upon millions. Its implementation brooks no delay. It is a prerequisite for the very existence and further progress of civilization. It is the Decree on Peace of the late 20th century.

So it was our country that, for the first time in the world, put forward, sixty-nine years ago, innovatory principles in international politics acceptable to all peoples. Now, on the eve of a new millennium, our country offers a programme for the radical transformation of the very system of international relations. Such are the landmarks of the policy initiated by the October Revolution. They manifest the continuity and, at the same time, the innovatory character of socialist, communist theory and practice in international affairs.

"For the first time in the world," we keep saying here. Shall we not be suspected of boasting? Nothing could be farther from the truth.

That the October Revolution has blazed new trails in all spheres of life is not just a figure of speech but an indisputable fact. Indeed, our socialist revolution, the first in history, transforms human activity as a whole, and each of its aspects, for the first time in the annals of human experience. That this is so is undeniable.

Being a trailblazer is a great responsibility. The trailblazer bears grave responsibility for his every step, every move, and every thought. Any mistake of his may have grave consequences not only, obviously, for him, but also for those following in his footsteps or walking alongside him. But then, his every success is success for all that is democratic and peaceable on earth. Our Party and our people realize this—today better than yesterday. However, the weight of the responsibility we carry adds to our strength rather than detracts from it.

As we celebrate the 69th anniversary of our revolution, we come to a fuller realization of its grandeur and a more accurate assessment not only of our past achievements but also of the magnitude of what remains to be done.

EUROPEAN SECURITY

The Vienna Meeting

● ON NOVEMBER 4 THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTRIES WHICH PARTICIPATED IN THE CONFERENCE FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE) OPENED IN THE AUSTRIAN CAPITAL

On the eve of the meeting, our special correspondent Sergei Golyakov interviewed Yuri Kashlev, head of the U.S.S.R. delegation.

"The Vienna forum will undoubtedly be a major event not only in the life of the European continent but beyond its borders as well," he said. "At the suggestion of the Warsaw Treaty countries which met with the approval of the other CSCE states the meeting is opening at foreign minister level.

"The Soviet Union, a consistent advocate of the development and deepening of the all-European process, stands for the meeting to be conducted in a positive key, for its achievement of substantial agreement on all sections of the Final Act, each of which is important in itself. That is how we understand what has to be done to ensure that 'balanced' approach to the Helsinki process, of which the West so often speaks, although there the approach to agreements is highly selective. For us there are no 'forbidden topics' and we are ready to discuss any of the questions covered by the Final Act.

"The U.S.S.R. delegation at the Vienna meet will adopt an active stance. It will advance, both independently and together with other delegations, initiatives on all the sections of the Final Act and will be ready to give careful consideration to all proposals made.

"On the first section of the Final Act—security in Europe—we attach great importance to the solution of military and political problems so important for ensuring a salutary political climate on the continent. The far-reaching proposals advanced in Budapest by the Warsaw Treaty states with regard to reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals were directed precisely to this end.

"In Vienna the Soviet Union will declare for agreement on the mandate for the next stage of the Stockholm conference with a view to continuing examination of confidence-building measures, but chiefly to going over to practical negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

"We believe it expedient to continue work in Vienna on the political and legal aspects of relations between the CSCE states in order to secure the maximum effectiveness of all the ten principles of the Final Act.

"As regards the 'second basket' which covers cooperation in the sphere of economy, science, technology and the environment, the U.S.S.R. delegation will advocate fuller use of the possibilities afforded by the Final Act for questions relating to trade and economic and scientific and technological matters to occupy an appropriate place in the Helsinki process.

"I should like to draw attention to the fact that what the Soviet Union is doing at home to restructure its own economy and improve foreign economic activity creates new favourable opportunities for deepening economic interaction with the CSCE countries, among other things by making use of promising forms of cooperation, including the development of industrial cooperation and the establishment of joint enterprises on the territory of the U.S.S.R.

"We are convinced that much can be done at the Vienna meeting to promote cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. The U.S.S.R. delegation intends to adopt an open and constructive position on questions relating to culture, education, information, defence of human rights and basic freedoms, and people-to-people contacts. We believe it essential to draw on the experience gained since the Madrid meeting by taking into account all that was positive and draw lessons from what was negative. This applies to Ottawa, to Budapest, to Berne where by joint efforts a substantive document on people-to-people contacts was worked out but which did not go into effect solely because of the position taken by the U.S. delegation.

"In a word, we have come to the Vienna meeting with a large positive programme. Important tasks have to be accomplished, and this can be done only in a businesslike atmosphere, without artificial, fruitless polemics and confrontation. The responsibility devolving upon every CSCE country makes it incumbent upon all of us to treat each other's positions with respect, to search for points of contact and make use of every opportunity to bring our positions on concrete problems closer together."

MIDDLE EAST

Sinister Design

● HAVING BROKEN OFF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH DAMASCUS, THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT IS PREPARING, WITH THE SUPPORT OF WASHINGTON AND TEL AVIV, TO UNDERTAKE FURTHER MEASURES AGAINST SYRIA

At a cursory glance the anti-Syrian hysteria that engulfed London late last month may seem to be abating. At any rate, the news media have become less flagrant in their attacks and government spokesmen appear to be more concerned with the situation around the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands. However, the lull in the campaign which began with the rupture of relations is suggestive of the calm before a storm or the regrouping of forces for an offensive.

When this new offensive is to be mounted is generally known. It will start on November 10, when high-ranking representatives of the EEC are to gather in London. The British diplomatic service is energetically preparing for the meeting with a view to getting its Common Market and NATO partners to overwhelm Syria with sanctions. It does not seem to matter that it failed to do so at a similar meeting some time ago in Luxemburg. Neither London, Washington, nor Tel Aviv have lost hope. After all, they did initially achieve something in Luxemburg in the form of a general anti-Syrian statement. Subsequently France appeared to have decided to freeze arms deliveries to Syria while the F.R.G., going a step further, is drafting measures against the Syrian embassy in Bonn, which will include surveillance of its diplomats! Generally speaking, as can be deduced from one U.S. newspaper report, Washington and London calculate that within the next few weeks their allies will come out against Syria in a more or less united front. Naturally this is encouraging for Tel Aviv which has long been planning to attack Syria and has already outlined the scenario of the "aggression" that Syria, incredibly, is alleged to be preparing against it as a pretext for its evil designs.

Surely the Israelis should be more conscious than anyone of the real cost of the pretext for launching the anti-Syrian campaign. After all, even the British news media,

Cypriots want the British military out. Seen here are demonstrators outside a British base, which may serve any moment as a springboard for armed action against the peoples of the Middle East, including Syria.

AP—TASS photo

reporting the intention of "the Jordanian subject Hindawi" to blow up an Israeli plane, by having an unsuspecting girl friend smuggle a bomb on board, wondered how she had managed to get it through the superstrict controls at Heathrow airport, as easily as she did. They were also surprised by the sudden "hunch" on the part of an agent of the Israeli secret service who decided at the last minute to recheck the passengers already aboard. It is also worth mentioning the fact that in court the "Jordanian subject" categorically withdrew the "confessions" his interrogators had beaten out of him.

That the "Hindawi affair," as an official spokesman for the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine put it, is reminiscent of the "Antonov affair" is far from fortuitous. After all, the liberty that agents of Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, enjoy in Britain is well known. Currently demands are being voiced there to investigate the doings of the Israeli agents in London who kidnapped Mordechai Vanunu, the man who disclosed the "secret" that the Zionist state is in possession of nuclear weapons.

Tel Aviv and Washington have long been sharpening their knives against Syria. They see Syria, along with Libya, as the principal opponent of their designs in the Middle East. I was in Beirut when planes of the U.S. Sixth Fleet bombed the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon on the pretext of vengeance against "terrorists." On that occasion two air pirates were brought down and captured by Syrian units of the inter-Arab peace-keeping force in Lebanon. Their release was effected only when Jesse Jackson came to Damascus on a humanitarian mission. There is no need to mention the Israeli airmen taken captive by the Syrians.

Analyzing today the likelihood of the armed action that could be launched against Syria by imperialist forces, Western news media call the country "a hard nut." The Israeli military also know that not everyone can crack it. Indeed, when in late September Syrian President Hafez al-Assad warned that "should Israel attempt a new incursion into Lebanon, retaliation will be staggering," his words came as a cold shower for Tel Aviv's rulers who had already announced the mobilization of reservists and begun the movement of expeditionary troops towards southern Lebanon.

Surely it is because Syria frustrates U.S.-Israeli designs on Lebanon that it is the object of such animosity on the part of Washington and Tel Aviv.

Imperialist and Zionist propaganda is trying to make out —to its own satisfaction, perhaps—that Syria is isolated not only in the Middle East, but on the international scene generally. In so doing it seeks to "overlook" the firm and resolute support that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the peoples of Libya, Algeria, North and South Yemen and Lebanon, patriotic Palestinians and all men and women of good will have given and are continu-

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. wishes to convey its heartfelt greetings to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on the occasion of its 40th anniversary, which is being internationally observed.

Throughout the years of its existence UNESCO has convincingly demonstrated that it is an important link in the system of the United Nations, born after World War II of the determination of freedom-loving peoples not to allow a repetition of the horrors of a new world conflagration, and work for equal and mutually advantageous peaceful cooperation among all countries. True to the ideals of peace and international security proclaimed in its Charter, UNESCO consistently stands for constructive cooperation based on mutual trust between states and peoples on a worldwide scale.

Today, when the world community is confronted with global problems of great urgency, UNESCO, drawing on the powerful potential of world science and culture, must make its own contribution to solving them, so that mankind can enter the next century no longer oppressed by the heavy burden of lethal weapons, but with faith in a better future.

Having accumulated a wealth of experience in international intellectual cooperation, UNESCO is unquestionably in a position to do much towards cultivating and developing the new political thinking needed in this nuclear and space age, to find radical approaches to the solution of the problem of preventing a nuclear catastrophe, abandon the arms race, so disastrous for all peoples on Earth, and embark on the path of real disarmament.

As an important and prestigious international forum drawing upon the creative forces of the entire planet, UNESCO plays a major role in the development and enrichment of equal cooperation in the spheres of education, science, culture and information. It promotes the broad exchange of the finest masterpieces, values and attainments of human genius, thereby helping to lay the humanitarian foundations for a comprehensive system of international security.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. sincerely wishes UNESCO continued success in its fruitful labours in the field of peaceful international cooperation and declares that the Soviet Union will as before do everything in its power to enable this organization to continue effectively and significantly to carry out its noble mission in the world arena in the interests of the social and economic, scientific, technological and cultural progress of the whole of world civilization.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE U.S.S.R.

ing to give the Syrian people.

Though the sinister and carefully conceived anti-Syrian plan is under way, the situation and balance of forces in the world today are such that designs of this order are ignominiously doomed to failure.

E. KORSHUNOV

U.N.

Another "No"

● IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON OCTOBER 28, ONLY THE U.S. VOTED AGAINST A RESOLUTION TO PROCLAIM THE SOUTH ATLANTIC A ZONE OF PEACE AND COOPERATION

The new initiative was put forward by Brazil. It was supported by 124 states, with only eight abstentions. The resolution calls for the reduction and eventual complete elimination of the military presence in the South Atlantic and for no deployment there of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction.

What is there to object to in this resolution? Steering away from its content, the U.S. representative attacked the procedure, claiming that the matter should be settled through multilateral negotiations outside the U.N. A member of the Pentagon staff revealed what actually lay behind Washington's obstruction. According to the Jornal do Brasil, he said: "Does Brazil really think we spend billions of dollars on warships and submarines and arm them with nuclear weapons to then have them cruise in the swimming pool behind the White House?"

As far as can be judged, the Pentagon is attempting to transform the world ocean into a pool for dangerous "aquatic fowl." Why otherwise does Washington so obstinately resist every step taken to demilitarize the high seas? For fifteen years the U.S. has blocked the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. Washington reacted with thinly disguised annoyance to the treaty on a denuclearized status concluded recently by thirteen South Pacific states.

The military presence of the U.S. and other NATO powers in the South Atlantic serves as a lever to exert pressure on the independent African and Latin American states along its littoral, and as a tool to prop up regimes favoured by the West. The hot points of tension in the region, namely, South Africa, Namibia and Angola, are a direct result of neocolonialist policy. As the resolution emphasizes, the abolition of apartheid and the granting of independence to the people of Namibia are essential to bring peace and security to the South Atlantic.

Hence, the acquiescence of some NATO powers to the U.N. document appears hypocritical. Last week, after the resolution had already been approved, London undertook to exacerbate the strained situation around the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands. It has introduced a 150-mile "exclusion zone" from which all foreign ships, including those of Argentina, are barred. From what Tory leaders say, Britain is still determined not to negotiate the Falklands issue; on the contrary, it plans to strengthen in every conceivable way the "defence capacity" of the Falklands, where military personnel already outnumber the local population by two to one.

Brazil's initiative shows that Latin American governments attempting to consolidate democratic institutions are no longer prepared to tolerate the old militaristic scenarios. Washington's new "no" changes nothing here.

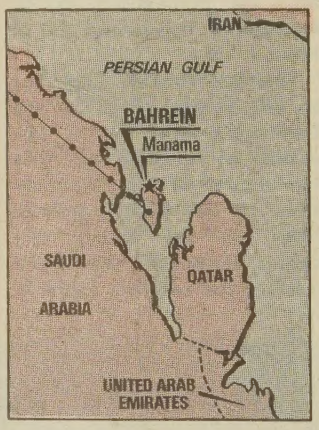
V. KULISTIKOV

BAHREIN

Arrests and Torture

● THE PRESS OF A NUMBER OF ARAB AND OTHER COUNTRIES REPORT THAT A CAMPAIGN OF REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST DEMOCRATIC LEADERS HAS BEEN UNLEASHED IN BAHREIN BY THE BRITISH-OFFICERED SECURITY SERVICE OF THAT SMALL COUNTRY

Speaking of the persecution of Bahrein patriots, the information bulletin of the World Federation of Trade Unions wrote recently: "The new wave of arrests is part of an official policy of terror against the patriots of different tendencies and social strata. This shows indisputably the failure of the Bahrein government to force the patriotic opposition to give in to its economic policies which would be harmful to the people."



BACKGROUND NOTE

Bahrein is situated on the archipelago of that name in the Persian Gulf. It has a territory of 670 square kilometres and a mainly Arab population of 360,000. The capital city is Manama.

Bahrein is a constitutional monarchy, but in 1975 the National Assembly was disbanded and no new elections have been held since then. The entire power is virtually concentrated in the hands of the ruling family of al-Khalifa headed by the Emir Sheikh Isa bin Sulman al-Khalifa.

A joint statement, issued by the committee for the defence of political prisoners and the committee for the defence of human rights in Bahrein, speaks of the inhuman conditions in which detainees are held. Reports of torture of prisoners have appeared in the press, specifically in the Lebanese newspapers Al-Nida and Al-Safir. An office worker named Radhi Mahdi Ibrahim is known to have died on August 30 as a result of torture and the latest victim was Dr Hashim Ismail al-Alawi, 29-year-old graduate of a Soviet college and the father of two small children, who died on September 16.

The capitalist press is no longer able to hush up the arrests in Bahrein. There has been mention of them in the British Guardian and the French Le Monde. Even the organization Amnesty International qualified the campaign of persecution as a violation of human rights. It reported that searches, arrests and other harassment of Bahrein citizens are carried out under the decree on "state security" of 1974 which carries a sentence of up to three years' imprisonment without trial for anyone suspected of activity prejudicial to national security.

The National Liberation Front of Bahrein and other democratic organizations have asked the international community to help stop the persecutions. The Communist parties of the Arab East have declared their solidarity with the imprisoned Bahrein patriots.

E. SERGEYEV

Nguyen Co Thach: Clear Away the Obstacles

This interview with Nguyen Co Thach, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, concludes a series of New Times interviews with the foreign policy chiefs of the three states of Indo-China devoted to problems of collective security in Asia and the Pacific.

How would you qualify the peace programme relating to the future of Asia and the Pacific put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok?

Today, in Europe, the theatre of two world wars, the two biggest military alliances confront one another. Europe has the world's largest arsenals. However, thanks to the struggle waged by the forces of peace there has been no war on European soil for forty years. The Helsinki accords furnished the legal foundations for peaceful coexistence there. In the Asian and Pacific region, however, imperialism and reaction have unleashed many bloody wars of aggression, the biggest of which were against the peoples of Korea and Vietnam. It was in Asia that atomic weapons were employed for the first time in history. U.S. imperialists dropped three times more bombs and projectiles on Vietnam than were used in the fighting during the second world war.

Our region has been in a constant state of flux throughout the last forty years. The strategic defeats sustained in Asia by imperialism and other reactionary forces and the historic victories won by the peoples of Asia and the Pacific have changed the world situation, creating extremely auspicious conditions for the preservation of peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world. In Southeast Asia two groups of states with different systems, the nations of Indo-China, and the member states of ASEAN, have formed. At the same time, tangible opportunities have presented themselves to strengthen the trend towards peaceful coexistence in Southeast Asia.

The proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok are of exceptional importance. They seek to curb the arms race, consolidate peace and security, and promote cooperation.

The people of Vietnam, who have experienced the horrors of harsh protracted wars of aggression, enthusiastically acclaim and fully support Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals. Their noble aims and historic significance make of them a common platform for all the peoples in Asia and the Pacific concerned with lasting peace.

What do you think serve as ways and means of ensuring peace and security in the region?

As I see it, the ways and means were indicated by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Vladivostok. This is the sole realistic alternative; there is no other. We do not entertain the slightest illusions: the road to peace and security in Asia and the Pacific lies through protracted and arduous effort. Nonetheless, we believe our ideas can be realized. We have every determination to make them triumph. We are prepared to contribute to the overall effort to establish that all-embracing system of international security advocated by the Soviet Union. It is important for us to start work now. We regard Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals as furnishing a realistic and firm foundation for peace and security. Their basic idea is for all the countries in the region to abandon conflict and begin a dialogue in order to negotiate problems and differences through mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, and achieve coexistence in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation.

Vietnam, a socialist state in Southeast Asia, has always pursued a foreign policy of peace, amity and broad cooperation with all, especially its neighbours, and is continuing to pursue that policy. The people of Vietnam resolutely uphold their independence and sovereignty, and are at the same time firmly implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence with other states and contributing to the consolidation of peace and security in Southeast Asia, in the Asian and Pacific region.

With fraternal Laos and Kampuchea, we declare that the time is ripe to clear away the obstacles from our path. The two groups of countries—ASEAN and Indo-China—must enter into a genuine, sincere and constructive dialogue in the spirit of equality, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and mutual understanding in order to evolve in common a satisfying way out of the situation around Kampuchea and transform the region into a zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation. Adhering to this course Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have repeatedly put forward peaceful initiatives. The good will displayed by these three countries was again reaffirmed in the communiqué of the recent 13th Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Hanoi.

The government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam acknowledges the importance of the role of the People's Republic of China in the world, in Asia, and especially in Southeast Asia. Vietnam has stated time and again its readiness to discuss with the P.R.C. at any time, on any level and in any place, the problems of Southeast Asia, which are of concern to both sides. We sincerely desire to normalize relations between the two states and restore the age-old friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and China.

The relations linking the two states are of long standing. The two countries supported and helped each other in the struggle against imperialism and in the effort to build a new society, and they share such common interests as peace, independence, cooperation and economic advancement. The current bilateral differences between Vietnam and China are of an isolated, transient nature. The long-term basic interests of the two countries must prevail. Nothing stands in the way of our reestablishing good-neighbourly relations.

The people of Vietnam firmly believe that all the peoples of the world, especially the people of Asia and the Pacific, ardently desire to live in peace, and seek to banish completely the threat of humanity's annihilation. ■

No Peace in Hunsrück

From our own correspondent
ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN

The road runs between tree-grown hills. The woods give way to a bucolic picture: well-tended fields, fenced-off pastures and peasant homes. Then the road dips into the forest again. The place is Hunsrück, a once tranquil corner of Rhineland-Palatinate in the southwest of the F.R.G., bordered by the Rhine, the Mosel, the Nahe, and the Saar rivers.

Today, however, there is no tranquillity.

The Road That Led to War

Federal road 327 was built in 1938. "This road has already led to war once," say the people of Hunsrück. It linked the garrison of Koblenz with the western border. The nazis built the new autobahn to move their troops to invade France.

Today many army installations line route 327 and the peaceful, quiet place is perhaps the most heavily militarized part of the F.R.G. Its small territory accommodates 60 military installations: airfields, dumps, barracks, proving ranges and bases. The 50th tactical fighter wing of the U.S. Air Force is billetted at the air base near Hahn. The squadron's emblem is a formidable griffin against the background of a mushroom cloud. It was the first overseas American unit to be provided with F-16 fighter-bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

And it was here that the first cruise missiles arrived from the other side of the Atlantic last February. By a curious coincidence the forests around Hunsrück were the launching sites for the cruise missiles prototype—the V-1 rocket, the "wonder weapon" with which Hitler hoped to win the war. It was from there that the nazis shelled London. After the war the rocket designers were taken to the United States, where they developed new rockets for their new masters. It is not by chance, then, that the Americans named one of their bases in the F.R.G. after Walter Dornberger, a German rocket expert involved in the development of V-1.

Another air base is near the village of Hasselbach, also along highway 327. It was there that the nazis started building an airfield for air raids on France. But the Pétain government capitulated before the airfield was built. After the war the Americans converted it into a base. In 1981—long before the Bundestag had agreed to rocket "rearmament"—the place was being made ready to receive cruise missiles which are now targeted on the East.

The F.R.G. government tried to conceal their whereabouts. But when the issue of funding the construction of cruise missile bases came up for discussion in the spring of 1983, some American papers mentioned Wüschheim, a hamlet several kilometres south of Hasselbach.

Along with first-strike weapons, the Pentagon is deploying the systems to protect them, the updated Patriot missiles. The launching sites for them are being built in various parts of the F.R.G., including, of course, Hunsrück. Alfred Dregger, chairman of the CDU/CSU in the Bundestag, has described Patriots as a "mini-SDI for Western Europe." And Defence Minister Woerner links the Patriots with plans for an "extended air defence system." Such a system, created on the basis of American hardware to protect American weapons, could become a factor upsetting military parity.

"Disarmament Here and Now!"

As I drove into Kastellaun sirens whined to announce a nuclear alarm. A practice alarm, thank God. Such alarms are held from time to time all over the F.R.G. to get people accustomed to the idea of nuclear war.

A slogan attached to the wall of a small two-storey house reads "Disarmament here and now!" The building is the Peace Bureau, the headquarters of the anti-war movement in Hunsrück.

Heidrun Zimmer, a member of the Bureau's staff, was born and raised in Hunsrück. She only left it for a brief period to study agronomy.

What is the day-to-day activity of the Bureau? They prepare and distribute information on the militarization of Hunsrück and the whole of Rhineland-Palatinate, and on the threat to peace posed by American missiles here. They organize meetings and discussions. Among their invited speakers are major specialists and prominent members of the peace movement.

"It is hard and time-consuming work," says Heidrun. "But when you consider how people's mentality has changed in recent years you cannot help feeling pleased."

There are no major industries in Hunsrück and the main source of employment is the military bases. How can one take an unemployed father of a family to task for accepting the job of guard there? Or an artisan facing bankruptcy unless he fulfils orders from the military? Those whose houses are large enough let them to Americans. That is why people in any way associated with the bases usually keep away from the anti-missile activities. And yet on many occasions they spurn lucrative offers. The inhabitants of Spesenroth village, for example, refused to allow the Americans to use an abandoned quarry for which they had been offered a hefty 200,000 marks. The Council of the Lautzenhausen community refused to hand over to Americans 15 hectares of land to expand their airfield in Hahn.

"Opposing the deployment of missiles is not only the business of those who live near the base," says Heidrun Zimmer. "It is a cause for the nationwide peace movement. We are glad that Hunsrück was the scene of a national demonstration."

The local Bureau cooperates closely with the coordinating peace committee in Bonn, bringing together all the major anti-war organizations in the F.R.G. The committee has its permanent representative, Andreas Schoefter, in Kastellaun.

"The demonstration on October 11 voiced the peace movement's demands to the government," he says. "They include refusal to participate in the Amer-

ican programme to militarize outer space, an end to the deployment and the pull-out of the missiles deployed, cutting the military budget, limiting arms exports and repeal of the decision to extend the term of military service. Our movement has welcomed the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests. We demand that the U.S. government join it."

Crosses Near the Base

Gerhard Lorenz, a building engineer who works in Koblenz, is an unpaid deputy burgomaster of the Bell community. Lorenz delivers popular lectures on the "rearmament" of NATO, accompanied by slides he has taken himself. He provides his audience with a vivid idea of the consequences an explosion of a single nuclear charge "the size of the Hiroshima bomb" would have for Hunsrück, the nature of cruise missiles and the purpose of their deployment.

"Formerly I was not interested in politics and did not belong to any party, I am still a non-party man," says Lorenz. "It all started like this. One day my wife and I attended a family party at my friends'. Over coffee, someone mentioned missiles. One of those present spoke critically about the 'rearmament' programme. I objected and cited the familiar argument of television programmes that 'rearmament' is necessary as a counterweight to the Soviet SS-20 missiles. The conversation drifted to other subjects, but I was haunted by the words of my acquaintance. I decided to make a closer study of the matter. I began reading a lot and, to my surprise, came to the conclusion that 'rearmament' was a fraud. Its advocates who talk about the 'Soviet missile monopoly' forget about the NATO nuclear potential deployed on submarines and planes." Lorenz decided to share his discovery with other people.

"We get most of our information from television," Lorenz goes on. "We are used to pictures. And in my lectures pictures play the main part. I just comment on them. I borrow schemes and graphs from available sources, as I make a point of telling my audiences lest they think I am divulging some 'military secrets.' "

Lorenz offered to take me around the base in his car.

I saw the famous wooden crosses set up by the citizens of Bell along the roadside. The 96 crosses, corresponding to the number of cruise missiles, are a symbolic warning of the death behind the fence. At night the crosses are often smashed, although they are on land owned by a peasant woman, Lore Kneip. But the locals set them up again and again.

Woerner's Booklet Backfires

An election for the Bundestag will be held on January 25, 1987. The election campain is hotting up. Of course, mass anti-war actions are not an election event. But the attitude to the demonstrators and its slogans may be some guide to the political position of parties and organizations. I saw delegates to the SDPG congress in Nuremberg last August sign a call for a demonstration. Among the sponsors of the demonstration were the Greens. The Peace List electoral alliance which brings together people of different political persuasions, including Communist, held its electoral congress in the town of Simmern in Hunsrück to emphasize its unqualified support for the anti-war movement.

It was in Simmern that I met journalist Wolfgang Bartels, author of many books and articles on the militarization of the F.R.G., and a candidate of the Peace List.

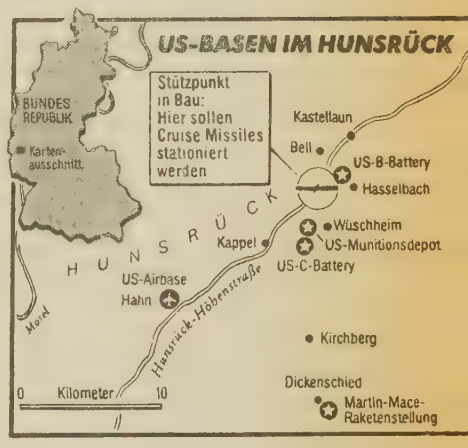
"The problem of peace and disarmament on which we campaign is particularly relevant in Hunsrück," said Bartels when asked about the mood of the electorate. "The CDU, as you know, is campaigning on a nationalistic and demagogic slogan 'Carry on, Germany.' Now, what does that mean for the people of Rhineland-Palatinate? The building of more and more military installations leads to the killing of 400 hectares of forest every year. If we go on like this people will have nowhere to live, not to speak of the danger all these installations pose."

The Greens' candidate is Helmut Jordan, a teacher, although he is not a member of their party. Jordan has been publishing the Hunsrück-Forum, an organ of the local peace movement, for more than three years. The prosecutors tried to sue Jordan accusing him of divulging secrets. They searched his flat. The trial was held last spring. Although it was proved that Jordan drew his "secret data" from popular newspapers and magazines, he was fined as a warning.

"Helmut and I do not think of ourselves as rivals," says Bartels. "We act as allies in the election campaign. Peace List, wishing to avoid a split of the anti-war forces, has given up second votes in favour of the SDPG and the Greens. (Every voter for the Bundestag will cast two votes: one for an individual candidate, and the other for this or that party. It is the second vote that is crucial for the party composition of the Bundestag.—**A.T.**)

The leaders of the CDU/CSU and the Free Democrats have yet to make their stand known. Only Defence Minister Woerner has made an attempt to influence public opinion by publishing a pamphlet entitled "Cruise Missiles in Hunsrück," in which he declares the nuclear weapon to be "acceptable from the moral and ethical point of view."

Woerner's propaganda sally has had an unexpected result. Among the people who read his pamphlet was Hans Warnecke, the superintendent of Koblenz (a senior post in the Evangelical Church hierarchy). Up until now Hans Warnecke has never spoken against missiles. The Woerner department had sent him 120 copies of the minister's opus, asking him to distribute them among the parishioners.



In addition to the five U.S. military bases, designated by circles, within this small area in the F.R.G. a sixth, designated by the large circle, is nearing completion, and the first U.S. cruise missiles are already deployed there.

From Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

After reading the pamphlet Warnecke shed any doubts he may have had about the justice of the peace movement's cause. At a press conference in Bonn he publicly demanded that Woerner withdraw his book.

A Defence Minister's book may sometimes serve a good cause.

Hunsrück—Bonn

Joint Enterprises:

co-production, cost-accounting, mutual benefit

Wlodzimierz Natorf, Poland's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the U.S.S.R., has just returned from Warsaw where he took part in the meetings and talks held by the Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov with Polish leaders. The talks centred on questions of developing direct production ties and setting up joint enterprises and international economic organizations in our two countries.

"This is a novelty," the ambassador said. "The socialist countries have at present only about a dozen such enterprises. Now the first five are being set up in Poland too. They will be followed by more. In my country they are being set up in the form of an international enterprise or a society with foreign capital."

"Comrade ambassador, the documents signed in Warsaw determine, among other things, the mechanism of a joint enterprise. What is this?"

"First of all, it should not be confused with the mechanism of direct links. There is nothing new about direct links between enterprises of CMEA countries. More than 4,000 plants, design bureaux and research institutes are exchanging plans, specifications and technologies. But we must advance further to the next, more effective stage of cooperation, to commercial, cost-accounting forms, to joint enterprises operating on the principles of self-repayment and self-financing.

"These joint enterprises have the rights of juridical persons and are independent in their operations. . . . Everything starts with defining the nature of their activity, the sum of the authorized capital and the type of contribution made by each participant."

"And what types of contribution exist?"

"Installations, equipment, money. Perhaps even whole production shops and even enterprises. . . . So the parties concerned have formed their authorized capital and reached agreement on the mechanism of material and technical supplies. But the question may arise: since the authorized capital consists of the property of the founding countries, will not each part of the joint enterprise find itself bound one way or another to former obligations and plans? No. The joint enterprise is responsible only for its own obligations and has no retrospective liabilities. More than that, its subsidiaries, which can be formed both in the territory of the participating countries and in the territory of third countries, are not normally liable for the obligations of the head office and vice versa."

"This stands to reason. But here is another question: as the authorized capital is formed, how is the property included in it valued? For prices in the member countries differ. And how are profits to be assessed?"

"The agreement we signed provides the answer: CMEA foreign trade prices are to be used or, if there are none, the prices are to be fixed by the members. Profits are distributed between members in proportion to their share in the authorized capital."

"The enterprise employs citizens of different countries. By whom and how are their rights and duties determined?"

"The management of the enterprise concludes a four-year contract with the future employee. The contract is renewable. The employee is paid a wage or salary in accordance with the work performed by him while employees from other countries are paid 25 per cent extra by the management. Such an employee is exempt from income tax, can transfer his earnings to his home country and is entitled to paid leave. He is provided with housing and medical services in accordance with the accepted practice in the given country. As to his duties, they are as follows: the output of the joint enterprise must be competitive on the world market and be in

The automatic control system at the Erdenet mining and ore-dressing complex in Mongolia.

This joint Soviet-Mongolian enterprise, the biggest of its kind in Asia, has been in operation for several years now. It is but one of the many instances that could be cited of the close cooperation between the CMEA countries, in which some 3,000 scientific and technological organizations are involved. Every year they complete some 2,000 research and development projects, evolve between 200 and 300 new or improved machine and instrument designs, plus 100-150 production processes and 100-120 new types of materials and preparations.

TASS photo

demand. Prices are an important factor. A price is profitable by virtue of low production costs and high labour productivity. This must be ensured both by the collective of the enterprise and by each employee."

"You mentioned the competitiveness of the joint enterprise's output. Do you mean that it is intended primarily for export?"

"Since this is an enterprise with foreign capital it is natural that a part of its output will go to the foreign partner as its share of profits or be sold to third countries. I would like to note that the Polish economy is extremely interested in export. Poland is indebted to both capitalist and socialist countries although the circumstances of the accrued debt to different countries vary. By the middle of this year Poland's debt in convertible currency amounted to $31.3 billion. This is roughly 40 per cent of the national income and 2.5 times greater than the value of all Polish exports in a year. So the debt exists but it is difficult to repay it since Polish enterprises produce insufficient quantities of commodities that can be sold abroad."

"How are the losses caused by sanctions affecting the Polish economy?"

"The damage is great. We assess it at $15 billion."

The ambassador opened his note pad and started making calculations.

"The shortage of export products badly affects the state balance of payments. The bitter truth is that we Poles are still living on credit. But the export-import balance entails the need to develop the economy intensively so that production fully satisfies both the domestic market and export requirements. And our critics say that this can't be done. It is extremely probable that acting alone Poland would not be able to cope with its problems. But in our plans we rely on the international cooperation of CMEA countries and the documents signed in Warsaw have made a noticeable contribution to such cooperation. I should like to stress once again that joint enterprises are of mutual benefit. In the West, the agreements we have signed are alleged to 'infringe upon the national independence of the Polish state'.... The demagogical nature of such statements is only too obvious. The profit we shall draw along with the U.S.S.R. and other CMEA member countries is to go into the strengthening of our economy, clearing our foreign debt and, hence, to consolidate Poland's independence."

"My last question. When are the signed agreements to be implemented?"

"The decisions have been made and now is the time to act. The Soviet Union is transforming its external economic ties and this stimulates international cooperation as well. Our economic reform is also gaining impetus. The directors of several more Polish and Soviet plants intending to merge their capacities have already met. The necessary technological documentation is being drawn up and engineers are thinking out the mechanism of the new joint production process. So the launching date for the joint enterprises now directly depends on specific work collectives and the state bodies that are called upon to stimulate their work."

"What bodies? Ministries?"

"No. A body of Authorized Persons has been set up in Poland under the Council of Ministers and it is their task to deal with direct ties. For every joint enterprise previously belonged, entirely or in part, to some particular agency or ministry. And if now they all start interfering in the activity of their former protégés, invoking parental feelings and obligations, the idea will simply collapse. This explains the appearance of a new figure in the world of management—the representative of the government for the joint enterprise. He is authorized to settle questions of relations between these enterprises and the host country arising in the course of this joint activity. For instance, legal ones. In one way or another the agreements (as legal acts) have affected the legislation of the participating countries. The Authorized Person is the man who must bring them into line with a view to perfecting the new forms of socialist cooperation."

* * *

There is no doubt that the agreements signed in Warsaw will raise Polish-Soviet cooperation to a new level because both sides stand to gain from it.

But it is just as obvious that the promotion of direct cooperation needs something more than just interest on the part of economic organizations. Regular information is needed on the potential of the cooperating partners and on the market situation. Still to be solved are many other organizational and economic problems with which economists are familiar. Further work is needed on the formulation of the principles for establishing direct ties between enterprises in CMEA countries. There appears also to be a need for a model treaty (or agreement) within the framework of CMEA that would list the main terms of such cooperation. In short, much work remains to be done.

B. KOZLOV

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

NARAYAN DATT TIWARI

On October 22 Narayan Datt Tiwari was appointed Minister of External Affairs of India. He was born in 1925 and has a higher education in the humanities.

Beginning with 1952 he was repeatedly elected deputy of the legislative assembly of Uttar Pradesh, the largest state in India (population over 120 million), first from the Praja Socialist Party and since 1969, from the Indian National Congress party.

Between 1969 and 1975 he occupied a number of ministerial posts in the Uttar Pradesh government—finance, heavy industry, the sugar industry and local self-government. From January 1976 to May 1977 he headed the government of the state.

When the Janata Party was in power (1977-79) he was leader of the opposition in the Uttar Pradesh legislative assembly. In the January 1980 parliamentary elections he was elected deputy of the House of the People, the lower chamber of the Indian parliament. In the same year he was appointed Minister of Planning in Indira Gandhi's government. Later he occupied the posts of Minister of Industry and Minister of State for Steel and Mines. In August 1984 on the eve of the new parliamentary elections he occupied the post of Chief Minister of State in Uttar Pradesh.

In September 1985 he was again brought into the central government as Minister of Industry.

N.D. Tiwari stands for the strengthening and development of friendly Indian-Soviet relations. He has visited the Soviet Union many times. In May 1985 he headed India's delegation at the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory over nazi Germany.

On November 1-3 this year, after his appointment as Minister of External Affairs, N.D. Tiwari was in the U.S.S.R. for a brief working visit.

The recent world congress dedicated to the International Year of Peace held in Copenhagen highlighted the successes and difficulties of this great movement of our time, as YURI ZHUKOV, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, told our correspondent Galina Sidorova.

Lesson for the Future

Can it be said that the new thinking has been adopted by the peace movement?

In this connection, let me first say a few words about the congress. Its significance is enormous. It was a kind of political experiment, an attempt by a number of anti-war movements to broaden the front of their struggle and develop dialogue with those who oppose the arms race but are still in the grip of anti-communist prejudice. We proceeded from the fact that today the survival of the human race in this nuclear age is at stake. This task cannot be accomplished only by the forces that think like us. What is needed is a truly universal front of the whole human race.

The Soviet peace supporters and many of our colleagues in the West have become imbued with new thinking. There is no doubt about it. It is our sincere belief that nuclear weapons should never be used and that waging nuclear war is a crime. Our conclusion is that nuclear weapons must be destroyed and that space weapons should never see the light of day.

To what extent is this approach and new reading of the situation shared by those groups in the anti-war movement which consider themselves to be our ideological opponents?

I think we should distinguish between a sincere belief in the need for such an approach and token support for it. Today no one dares admit that he or she considers nuclear war—limited, preemptive, etc.—to be feasible or possible. But far from everyone is fully aware of the critical nature of the situation and of the fact that there can be no winners in a nuclear war. No one at the congress opposed the renunciation of nuclear weapons. But some participants made this renunciation conditional on the settlement of issues that have nothing to do with the substance of the matter. As before—in the sixties, seventies and early eighties—they keep citing a thesis which, incidentally, finds great favour with President Reagan: "Nations mistrust each other not because they are armed; they are armed because they mistrust each other." This leads to the demand to change the social system in the socialist and a number of developing countries as a precondition for disarmament. That is a dangerous line. We could turn this formula against the capitalist world and say: we mistrust you and believe that your system is outdated and so on and so forth. But we choose not to do so. New thinking prompts the need to set aside political, ideological and economic differences. It is high time we understood that even as we are coming to grips with the problem of eliminating nuclear weapons and preventing the militarization of outer space these differences will persist.

We have become accustomed to such forums producing documents. Why didn't this forum come up with a document?

The participants reasoned in the following way. To draft a final document, we would need to set up a drafting commission. It would work through the nights thrashing out a formula. The result would be a long paper with which the commission would be pleased. But what next? Besides, such major questions as the elimination of nuclear weapons and preventing the militarization of outer space are not solved by a vote, even if 2,000 vote in favour and 300 against. The sponsors of the congress decided to give everyone a chance to present their ideas and documents and collect signatures to them. And the interesting thing is that the authors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki appeal proposed by the Japanese peace supporters, the joint Soviet-American appeal signed at the U.N. headquarters last summer by the participants in the peace cruise down the Mississippi and the initiative of the Delhi Six launched in Copenhagen and known as the Copenhagen Appeal—without conferring with each other—all voiced the same ideas: No to nuclear weapons, No to the militarization of outer space, and Yes to an immediate ban on nuclear tests.

How do you account for the fact that towards the end of the congress the opponents of the anti-war movement resorted to open terror?

The U.S. State Department and the British Foreign Office attacked the congress even before it began. They spread documents anathemizing the forum as an event sponsored by the Soviet Union through the World Peace Council. Nevertheless, the congress convened and the spectrum of participants was fairly wide. The Copenhagen congress received messages of greetings from Rajiv Gandhi, Raul Alfonsin, Senator Kennedy and other prominent political leaders.

When attempts to disrupt the congress failed, people who had nothing to do with the anti-war movement and had their own political axes to grind, were hastily dispatched to Copenhagen. All of them were included in the delegation of the Danish pacifist organization "No to Nuclear Weapons." The idea was that these "fighters" would be denied the floor and then the congress would be proclaimed "one-sided" and "communist." But they were given the floor more than once. Only, these people were not met with understanding and support. Apparently for want of better arguments the opponents of the congress "committed to action" bands of extremist right-wing thugs.

The congress is over. What are its lessons? Where do we go from here?

As far as Soviet peace supporters are concerned, our response is extensive participation in the Week of Action for Disarmament. From what we hear from our local committees (we have 120 in this country) their morale is high. We shall support the Copenhagen Appeal with actions to make a reality the valuable package of proposals made by the Soviet side at the Reykjavik meeting.

I think the congress gave an impulse to mass action in other countries as well. In Copenhagen, we had bilateral meetings with the U.S. delegation and with delegations from the F.R.G., France and Greece. We exchanged experience and discussed prospects. Our West German friends told us about the so-called "workers' peace initiatives." This is a new phenomenon: workers did not constitute the majority at the big demonstrations in 1983. Most of those who took to the streets then were young people, students and members of the intelligentsia. The working class now must make its decisive contribution.

Soviet peace supporters will continue to come out in favour of the unification of all anti-war forces to achieve the main objective—the preservation of life on Earth.

Preparation for the congress provided a training for the various anti-war organizations. Everyone was learning to conduct dialogue and find common solutions and compromises. This was an excellent lesson, a lesson for the future. ■

Outlook for the 15th Century After Hegira

"Baku has become another Mecca," said foreign journalists who came to the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan to cover the international Islamic conference "Muslims in the Struggle for Peace." For over 700 million Muslims all over the world Baku really was more than just a dot on the map for a few days in October, when 189 delegates from 59 countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas, and representatives of regional and international Islamic organizations, arrived in the city. They joined 250 Soviet coreligionists, representing the four Muslim boards of the U.S.S.R., to discuss and plan joint actions and measures to involve Muslims energetically in the peace movement and the effort to avert nuclear catastrophe and improve the international situation.

In 1979, at the start of the 15th century according to the Muslim calendar (the Muslims calculate the date from the flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina, known by the Arabic word "Hegira"), the Muslim organizations of the U.S.S.R. addressed believers with the appeal: "The 15th century of Hegira must be a century of peace and friendship among peoples!"

Conference participants in a Baku mosque.

Azerinform photo

This year, declared the International Year of Peace by the United Nations, the Muslim Boards of the U.S.S.R. convened an international Islamic conference "Muslims in the Struggle for Peace." The initiative evoked widespread response the world over. Among the delegates to the Baku conference were 14 cabinet members and parliamentarians, 12 muftis and supreme Shariat justices, 29 heads of national Islamic organizations and centres, and leading Islamic theologians. The personal envoy of the U.N. Secretary General, the general secretaries of the largest international Muslim organizations—the World Muslim League and the Islamic Call Society—attended. The conference also received messages of greeting from the leaders of the Islamic Conference, the Arab League and a number of heads of state and government.

Skeikh Muhammed Ahmed Al-Hazraji, Minister of Islamic Affairs and Waqfs of the United Arab Emirates, who was in the Soviet Union for the first time, told journalists: "We are amazed by what we have seen in the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan. Guarantees of freedoms, such as freedom of speech and conscience are a commendable aspect of Soviet domestic policy. The Soviet Union's appeal for an Islamic peace forum was prompted by its sincere commitment to peace."

Mufti Shamsutdin Babakhan, Chairman of the Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, said in his report "Islam and Peace in the Nuclear Age": "We, representatives of Muslims of many countries, should admit that Muslims and Islamic organizations in different countries still make insufficient use of their abilities to come out for peace, against nuclear madness and the arms race."

This idea was shared by other participants in the forum. The topics that were discussed at plenary meetings and in the work of sections included "The role of Muslims in the effort for peace in the nuclear age," "Islamic doctrine on the principles of peace, friendship and justice in the present time" and "The broadening of Muslim contacts as a factor in strengthening world peace and understanding among nations." Speakers pointed out that the word "peace" occurred more than 20 times in the Koran, and stressed that the true Muslim could not stand aloof from the search for an effective solution to the most urgent problem of our time, the prevention of a suicidal world war. Along with other believers, Muslims condemn suicide as a sin. Yet campaigning for peace, speakers noted, we should not call for capitulation and submission. Many speakers criticized internecine strife, inspired, as a rule, by imperialist and Zionist forces with a stake in the division of the Islamic world.

The participants of the Baku forum urged Muslims the world over to work for the solution of the global problem of mankind as well as the acute and urgent problems of the Islamic world, first and foremost the Palestinian problem, blocked the attempts of those who would have liked to confine discussions at the conference to the "Afghan question" and some other far-fetched issues. In any case, such individuals were very few.

The conference approved three final documents: a Message to All Muslims and All People of Good Will, a Message to All Parliaments, Governments and United Nations Organization, and a communiqué. The documents speak highly of the broad programme for the stage-by-stage abolition of nuclear weapons by the end of the 20th century and the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security, put forward by the U.S.S.R. They also approve the Soviet Union's extension of its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing as "evidence of its good will and honest desire to achieve general and complete disarmament." The Baku forum called for the convocation of an Asian-Pacific conference of representatives of all religious denominations on strengthening peace and security in the area. That proposal is consonant with the idea of including Asia and the Pacific in the process of establishing an all-embracing system of international security formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Vladivostok on July 28.

The delegates decided to set up a standing follow-up committee to the Baku conference. That body, which includes five representatives of Soviet Muslim organizations, is called upon to popularize the resolutions of the conference and contribute to their realization, and also to promote the consolidation of Muslims the world over in the struggle for universal peace. This consolidation, however, is not tantamount to Islamic isolation, though some Western journalists are trying to present it as such. Forward-looking Islamic leaders called for broader contacts and dialogue not only with other denominations, but also with secular forces. For example, Ahmed Keftaru, the High Mufti of Syria, noted the need to work for a more energetic integration of the peace-making efforts of religious leaders, progressive scientists and farsighted politicians with a view to countering the forces of war and aggression, imperialism and neocolonialism, racism and Zionism.

Sheikh of Islam Allashukur Pasha-Zade, Chairman of the Muslim Religious Board for the Transcaucasus and current chairman of the standing follow-up committee, expressed the hope that the participants would draw Muslims worldwide into vigorous efforts for peace, an end to the arms race and elimination of nuclear weapons.

O. VOLGIN

WHAT THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION HAS MEANT FOR ME

Five interviews on Leningrad's Palace Square

NIKOLAI IZACHIK,

Rear Admiral (Ret.), a Party member since 1918, Deputy Chairman of the Party Veterans' Council of the Leningrad Regional CPSU Committee:

At the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution, I was a 16-year-old grammar school boy in Novgorod. The news of the Petrograd uprising roused the city. We youngsters—not all of us, of course, but those who had joined the Bolsheviks—were very sorry we had not been on Palace Square on that historic night, and had not taken part in the storming of the Winter Palace. We kept saying to one another: "What a pity, everything has been done without us." Life seemed to have passed us by.

But life was just beginning, and we were destined to do a great deal. In April 1919 I was already on the battlefront, fighting Admiral Kolchak's White Guards. I left the ranks for some time to join my fellow Komsomol members in rehabilitating the war-ravaged country and in 1922 was called up again, this time into the Navy, and was assigned to the Second Baltic Fleet. That was how I first came to Petrograd. I carried the banner of my crew through Palace Square in the May Day parade of the same year.

All my life I have remembered my senior fellow crew members. We "greenhorns"—though we had already had a taste of war—looked up with admiration and even adulation to the "old-timers"—although none of them was more than 30. They were the sailors of the Revolution.... When the Great Patriotic War began and we had to defend again the achievements of the Soviet power, we also felt ourselves to be sailors of the Revolution.

I took part in many parades on Palace Square after the Great Victory. Nowadays I come here during the anniversary celebrations of the October Revolution. Because of my age I no longer march through the square—but nonetheless I am filled with joy as I watch the parade from the guests' grandstands. Every such parade and every demonstration means an encounter with my youth: I recognize myself and my comrades-in-arms among today's demonstrators. They are young, as we were once, and full of fighting spirit, as were we. And they are keeping time with the march of the revolution.

YURI YEREMIN,

assemblyman at the Andrei Zhdanov shipyards, member of the Komsomol Bureau of the assembly workshop:

There is an obelisk at the gate of my plant, where my working day begins; it commemorates Russia's first May Day celebration. The district in which my plant is located bears the proud name of "Narvskaya Zastava." Red Guard units and workers' fighting squads were formed there during the Revolution. Lenin often came to the district to address workers.

So that event of so long ago—I am 23, a third of the age of the October Revolution—is with me daily as it were.

I feel this especially keenly here, in Palace Square. When we participants in the 16th conference of young front-rank workers and best students of the vocational training schools of Leningrad and the Leningrad Region, came here, I found myself at the focus of attention. It was not my person that interested others so much, but the fact that I am one of the many shipbuilders from our plant to have been entrusted with the task of restoring the Aurora, the legendary battleship of the Revolution. The participants in the conference wanted to hear how restoration work was progressing and how soon the battleship would take its place opposite the Winter Palace. Seeing such keen interest, I thought: "The Aurora is a huge ship which is too big for some docks—yet it fits into every committed heart."

MARIE-CHRISTINE GIRARD,

telecommunications engineer (Paris):

I learned about the Soviet Union long ago when I studied in a lycée, where I also learned Russian. I thought I had a pretty good idea of the country. But my ideas changed substantially after I had travelled on business to Moscow, Tbilisi, Leningrad and other cities.

When my fellow countrymen talk about Leningrad, they usually discuss

the Hermitage, its rich collections, and sometimes the war. Those are the two main themes, sometimes the only ones. But Palace Square gives you a different, broader view. No, it is not only the Hermitage, the history of the arts—it is the history of human destinies. A simple idea strikes you here: if it had not been for the October Revolution, my compatriots and I would never have seen the palace collections.

Palace Square as I see it now is a part of the life of the city, a life in which past and present, architecture and people are inseparable, or, more precisely, are one. Getting to know the city means trying to understand its people, and understanding is a step towards cooperation. It is cooperation, the establishment of business contacts between our countries, that is the purpose of my visits to the Soviet Union.

DEBESAYE SENBETO HAILU,

an Ethiopian postgraduate student at the Leningrad Forestry Academy:

I don't think I would ever have got an education and become a scientist had it not been for the Soviet Union.

I was born into a poor Ethiopian family and my father worked for a feudal landlord. I only had an opportunity to continue my education beyond eight-year schooling because the Soviet Union had opened a polytechnical institute in Bahrdar. Tuition was free and anyone, regardless of social origin, could enrol. Then, in 1966, I was sent to study in Leningrad.

Many times I saw places associated with Lenin and often came to Palace Square and tried to imagine how it all happened there in 1917, what the Bolsheviks did, what they felt and what they thought about. I needed that very much: an anti-feudal movement was gathering momentum at home and a revolutionary situation was crystallizing. Yet the movement lacked organization. It was necessary to unite young people and revolutionary groups, which called for the organization of a political party. It was a difficult task. Everyone knew they were fighting against feudalism but very few could say what they were fighting for. A large number of practical problems also arose. How was the land to be divided, for example? Clear and unambiguous answers had to be given to those questions without delay. The Bolsheviks' programme, which rallied the Russian workers and peasantry and led them into battle, offered such answers.

I learned a good deal in the city of the world's first socialist revolution. I understood in it what socialism is about. It is thanks to Leningrad that I can effectively contribute to building the new Ethiopia.

ALFRED KÖNIG,

a municipal employee [Schönebeck, G.D.R.]:

Leningraders refer to Palace Square and nearby streets and boulevards as simply the centre. Perhaps, it really is the centre from the point of view of topography and architecture, but for me this has other connotations as well.

Standing here, in Palace Square, you have a feeling of being not merely in the centre of the city but at the centre of history. Events moved fast here 69 years ago. The salvo from the Aurora, the storming of the Winter Palace and the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets all occurred within 24 hours, in fact even less. And our time was split into two. A new history, the history of socialism, started for mankind, and time began again. Workers the world over were given a future.

Palace Square, which does not seem to have changed much over the years, also gives one a feeling of being at the centre of our time. The most urgent question facing the world today is the question of war and peace. But we should remember that the answer to it was given long ago, in October 1917, by the Decree on Peace, the first decree of the Soviet government.

Leningrad and its historic square have many other associations too, but I will confine myself to the one that is most dear to me, the thought of peace. If we have peace, we will have everything.

At our request Leningrad newsman Mikhail KUSHNIR went on the eve of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution to interview five people on Palace Square. These five, of different ages and callings, from inside and outside the country, told him what they thought about this great day. These five interviews are only a tiny fraction of the many possible ones, for people flock endlessly to Palace Square to commune with History, the History of our time.

Leningrad

Reykjavik and SDI

ALEXEI ARBATOV, D. Sc. (Hist.)

Strategic Defence Initiative proved to be a stumbling block to historic agreements between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Why did Washington adopt such a stance?

A superficial glance at SDI might lead you to believe that the progress the programme is making and the tempting prospects it offers the U.S. outweigh the epoch-making contribution further agreements on a reduction in nuclear arms could have made to general security. Let us now consider the actual state of affairs.

After last year's summit meeting in Geneva official White House and Pentagon spokesmen launched a powerful publicity campaign on the achievements of the SDI programme. Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger was quoted as saying SDI was "making much greater progress than we anticipated. The barriers we saw to progress are crumbling."

The former White House science adviser George A. Keyworth said "there had been monumental breakthroughs that have made us far more confident two and a half years later than we projected even in the optimistic tone that was evident in the [President's—**A.A.**] original SDI speech."

The SDIO Director, Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, was taking delight in "incredible" and "genuine breakthroughs."

The publicity campaign picked up by the magazines, papers and TV, apparently, pleased the President personally and also impressed some people in the U.S. and outside it. Many people had not taken the trouble to study the problem in detail or tended blindly to worship "American engineering omnipotence."

However, it would be appropriate to draw the attention of the credulous to the views of competent unbiassed parties. For instance, to the technological and strategic findings of the Soviet Scientists' Committee for Peace, Against the Nuclear War Threat, the Federation of American Scientists and the Union of Concerned Scientists.

In this respect a study, only recently declassified, could, perhaps, be of interest. Carried out at the request of several U.S. Senators, it was based on the views of some 40 experts directly engaged in work on SDI. In particular, among them were scientists from major military research centres, such as the SDIO design offices, the Pentagon's general accounting office and intelligence department. The comments they made "off the record—not for the press" and "no names mentioned" were in sharp contrast with the rose-coloured pronouncements of official spokesmen.

Indeed, in several cases (out of about 2,000 contracts distributed by SDIO) a certain amount of technological progress has been achieved. A sum of over $4 billion spent on research and development in this field in 1984 and 1985 was a powerful stimulus to ideas and achievements. However, it is a very long way from achievements in separate projects to the success of an entire programme—a multi-echelon ABM system with space-based components.

The testimony of those directly engaged in work on the SDI programme leaves no room for doubt: there is no reason to believe that such an ABM system is practicable.

What SDI research has clarified in recent years is that the programme is faced with stupendous technological, strategic and operational problems. The study points out that "the technological hurdles are much greater, the possible Soviet offensive threat and countermeasures would be much more formidable, and the logistical and battle management difficulties are much more complex than originally envisioned."

For instance, it would be far more difficult (than originally believed) for the first space-based ABM echelon to intercept an enemy missile in the boost trajectory phase. To burn a hole in a nearby mock-up missile on a testing ground to impress reporters with a photo is one thing. But using orbital ABM stations to destroy, in a matter of minutes, hundreds upon hundreds of operational missiles as they break out of the atmosphere several thousand kilometres away is another matter altogether.

Nor have the researchers found ways of rendering invulnerable the space-based components of a comprehensive ABM system. They are afflicted with a whole range of innate weaknesses. For instance, it is possible to predict the exact position of such a component in orbit at any given moment. They are open to observation from the ground and from space. Their weight and dimensions are limited by spacecraft payload capabilities. In addition, practically all types of space attack weapons designed to intercept ballistic missiles can also be used for the destruction of orbital stations and satellites. Moreover, they can do this more easily, cheaply and effectively both from space and from the ground.

It is becoming increasingly difficult, in the face of countermeasures, to pick out, from several hundred thousand dummy targets, the live warheads. The aim of countermeasures will be to jam and misdirect the ABM systems in the midcourse phase.

Owing to the pressure of unsolved problems, the SDI programme is substantially different from the one proposed in 1983 by the Fletcher Panel, appointed by the President himself, or projected in the 1984 and 1985 budget subcommissions. By some counts mentioned in the above study, almost half of SDI's several dozen projects have been downselected, reoriented or cancelled altogether.

In particular, the orbital chemical laser system which captured the journalists' imagination has actually been discarded, because it has proved ineffective. The work on Alpha—its prototype—will be continued simply because the contractors have already put a lot of money into the project. The destructive power of the nuclear-pumped X-ray laser (which alone is the reason for continued tests in Nevada) is lower than expected. Today its primary purpose is not to destroy missiles, but to identify the live warheads among the dummies. This also applies to the charged particle beam accelerator and other directed energy transfer systems.

Recently researchers have started to pay attention to problems they did not give any thought to in the beginning. One of these is how to inject into orbit the space-based components of an ABM system within a reasonable space of time and at a moderate cost. It is intended to deploy in space a total payload of 100,000 tons which exceeds the United States' present annual capability by 200 to one. Perhaps this will add up to 5,000 flights of Shuttle-type spaceships at a cost of up to $600 billion. To accomplish this it will be necessary to increase the U.S.'s orbit injection capability many times over and at the same time to cut the cost to a tenth. To do this they will have to achieve a technological and organizational revolution in the development of circumterrestrial space. However, the prospects for this are not particularly bright, especially in view of a series of U.S. spacecraft disasters.

Due to numerous complications and problems, the programme is being increasingly reoriented from space-based to ground-based components and from directed energy transfer weapons to more conventional missiles and other types of guided projectiles. What is particularly striking is that the call to build an impregnable "astrocanopy" which, they say, will "eliminate the need" for nuclear deterrence, has been perceptibly waning. Today the

U.S. has set itself a less ambitious task, namely to develop a more or less efficient ABM system. Both General James Abrahamson and Ronald Reagan have ultimately been compelled to admit that the original idea is impracticable. Commenting on this the president remarked: "I've never asked for 100 per cent [effectiveness—**A.A.**]. That would be a fine goal, but you can have a most effective defensive weapon even if it isn't 100 per cent.... Even partial success in SDI would strengthen deterrence and keep the peace."

These facts have disclosed the true motives behind the official reports on the "dramatic progress" the SDI programme has made. They have better revealed the hidden jumble of driving belts which actuate U.S. politics and which determined Washington's stand in Reykjavik.

As in the past, the stumbling block here is U.S. imperial ambitions and the desire, despite mounting difficulties, to gain military superiority through SDI. The development of new weapons is, in a sense, an end in itself. If it cannot create an impregnable defence system in space, the U.S. is eager to build up a partially effective ABM system made up mainly of non-space-based components. If a space-based ABM system is beyond reach, the goal will be to develop at least an anti-satellite system, space-based means of monitoring, guidance and communications, and to make impressive progress in the most advanced military technologies in general. The purpose then is also to perpetuate the arms race, to secure fat profits for the munitions corporations, sap the adversary's economy and, at the same time, weaken the competitor allies geared to U.S. projects.

This course has not won universal approval, not even in U.S. ruling circles. The Soviet proposals in Reykjavik, which offered an alternative to a further sliding into the abyss of war, aggravated the dilemma to the extreme. It was the unyielding logic of the Soviet initiatives that worried the militarist group within the U.S. Administration more than ever before. It is a fact that the SDI programme has been criticized ever more severely by realistic politicians and scientists. With every passing year Congress has been cutting an increasingly big share of the appropriations asked for it. (The Congress has decided upon a 40 per cent slash for the 1987 fiscal year.)

As the nation is becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the idea of an impregnable defence is an illusion, the destabilizing effect of the space attack systems the U.S. is seeking to develop is becoming strikingly apparent. The opposition to the unprecedentedly costly and dangerous "star wars" projects is stiffening. In this context the supporters of the programme fear that, if the Administration were to agree to limit the work on SDI to laboratory research, this step would kill all interest in it.

One of SDI's main aims was to frighten the Soviet Union and to force it to react in accordance with the U.S.'s wishes. That is to develop a large-scale ABM system comprising space strike echelons of its own. An extremely costly, vulnerable and hardly effective system. But the U.S.S.R. authoritatively and unequivocally replied that, if necessary, its countermeasures would be put into effect in less time and at a lower cost. These countermeasures being asymmetrical, they would be different from those expected by the U.S.

The promoters of SDI cannot bring themselves to explain in clear-cut terms what the structure of their intended system will be like, how effective they expect it to be, what missions it will be required to accomplish, when it will be completed and what the cost will amount to. Studies carried out in the U.S.S.R. and other countries have shown that in response to any theoretically conceivable version of a "star wars" programme, it is possible to develop, more quickly and cheaply, a variety of more effective methods and means that would render it useless.

The space ABM system zealots fear this response most of all. The predictable potential effectiveness of these countermeasures prejudices the chances of securing more funds for the further development of the U.S. programme. This is why the U.S. Administration has spared no effort to compel the U.S.S.R. to abandon its policy and convince it that the Americans have effected a "genuine breakthrough" in SDI research. Such attempts have been made through publicity media and at the talks.

One more point—one of cardinal importance at the moment. The most aggressively-minded group in the Administration has been using SDI as a potent lever to prevent progress at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons. And Reykjavik has graphically demonstrated this. The U.S. side reaffirmed its commitment to SDI—though camouflaging this by peace rhetoric—in response to the U.S.S.R.'s radical proposals which opened up possibilities for a mutually acceptable compromise on a far-reaching reduction of nuclear arms. The U.S. did this despite the fact that Article V of the ABM treaty bans the development of new ABM systems and in particular the testing of these in space. Article XV says: "Each Party shall, in exercising its national sovereignty, have the right to withdraw from this Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events related to the subject matter of this Treaty have jeopardized its supreme interests." No mention is made that it can withraw from the treaty as a result of progress achieved in the development of hardware. Only a distorted mind could misrepresent the Soviet proposal for a radical reduction of nuclear arms to be followed by their total elimination as a threat to the cosignatory's supreme national interests.

There is only one explanation to all these paradoxical assertions. Defying elementary logic and common sense, the men who opposed accord at Reykjavik took advantage of every pretext to thwart agreement not only on space, but also on the reduction of strategic and medium-range nuclear weapons. They saw clearly that, firstly, a quick and radical reduction of nuclear weapon stockpiles would have sapped all support from SDI both in the U.S. and outside it, and, secondly, since such a reduction could be reversed should the ABM treaty be breached, it would have provided a powerful argument in favour of its observance.

The quarters opposing agreement are out to use, in pursuit of a diametrically opposite goal, the objective strategic interdependence of offensive nuclear missiles and ABM systems.

Washington is perfectly aware of the fact that the potential of weapons intended for use against the space ABM system plus a radical reduction of nuclear arms and their strict limitation may guarantee the observance of the ABM treaty and inhibit work on the SDI programme to a greater degree than any formal U.S. commitment. That is why, while verbally promoting SDI (and even promising to share its secret achievements with the U.S.S.R.) supposedly in order to eliminate nuclear weapons, the U.S. has missed no opportunity to thwart progress towards this goal. Its aim in this case is to remove all obstacles to the implementation of the "star wars" programme.

As Mikhail Gorbachev aptly put it:

"The main damage done by SDI consists in the fact that it is jeopardizing the prospects for talks.... Herein lies the whole problem. It is a political and a military problem in equal degree."

Indeed, politics and military hardware have locked in the "star wars" programme to form a tight knot. It is not in the interests of SDI's supporters to reveal the real state of affairs in this field. Seeing that their position is untenable, they fear any progress in Soviet-U.S. talks. But it is just this uncertainty (which has compelled them to fight fierce "defensive battles") that has explicitly shown that the truth and realistic views have been forcing their way through the diplomatic barriers put up by official Washington. ■

Covering Up the Tracks

A new bureau devoted expressly to combating misinformation is soon to appear in the State Department.

This, one might think, is Washington's promt and self-critical response to the recent exposé of the deliberate promulgation by the U.S. Administration, in August-September, of false information about Libya. New Times has already reported on this political deception in its issue No. 41. I should like to recapitulate briefly.

Bernard Kalb Resigns

On October 2, the Washington Post carried a lengthy article by its correspondent Bob Woodward entitled "Gaddafi Target of Secret U.S. Deception Plan," according to which the Reagan Administration launched, last August, a secret and unorthodox campaign of misinformation aimed at giving the Libyan leader Muamar al-Gaddafi the impression that American bombers were all set to attack Libya again and that he could expect a coup. Concocted reports on Libya's fresh support for terrorism were thrown in to give this misinformation added credibility.

The correspondent revealed that this plan, drawn up down to the last detail by Admiral John Poindexter, President's national security affairs adviser, had been discussed behind closed doors at the White House on August 14, and endorsed by the President.

The resultant obviously "inaccurate information," as the New York Times mildly put it, first "leaked" to the Wall Street Journal, and was subsequently given much prominence by other papers and on television, which referred to, and secured confirmation from anonymous "official sources."

(It is worth noting that American papers have dug out evidence of the misinformation scheme having been conceived and submitted to the White House for approval by the State Department.)

The big idea of all this fuss was to "change the leader of Libya," no less. The matter was not confined to publishing cock-and-bull stories. Vernon Walters, the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, went to Europe on the White House's instructions to try and talk the NATO allies into toughening their sanctions against Tripoli. In the meantime, American aircraft carriers headed for Libyan shores.... Neither the West European capitals, nor the Libyan authorities succumbed to this psychological pressure.

The Boston paper Christian Science Monitor wonders, with good reason, whether the media can be certain that having "misled them about one issue the White House is not misleading them about others."

Even Bernard Kalb, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, once a well-known newspaperman and TV commentator, couldn't take it. On October 8 he resigned, saying it was too much for him.

Bernard Kalb told journalists he was concerned about the damage done to the United States' credibility by the misinformation campaign it had conducted, and that he was deeply shocked by it.

However, a TV commentator reminded him of Secretary of State George Shultz's remark to the effect that it was sometimes necessary to mislead the press.

Caught Again

On October 5, a C-123 American transport plane was brought down in the sovereign Republic of Nicaragua, with which the U.S. has diplomatic relations. Manned by an American crew, it carried machine guns, ammunition and other military supplies intended for the Somoza bands.

Taking off from the Ilopango military airfield in El Salvador, the plane flew along the Pacific coast, crossed Costa Rican airspace and invaded the southern Nicaraguan department of Rio San Juan, where its flight came to a forced end. Two of the American pilots died, and the third, Eugene Hasenfus, who baled out, was taken prisoner by Sandinist fighters.

In Washington, the White House, the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency hastened to dissociate themselves from the incident, claiming they were in complete ignorance of the flight, which was the work of the private organizations and private individuals who owned the plane and who, Secretary of State Shultz said, had absolutely nothing to do with the U.S. government or the CIA. The CIA had categorically denied its involvement in Nicaragua, Shultz in deadly earnest informed a TV commentator.

President Reagan got onto his hobby horse. He said his was a free country where private citizens enjoyed many freedoms (including the freedom to encourage terrorism in another country?). He added that he approved of the private groupings and private individuals who tried to help the contras, and likened these "private citizens," present-day "soldiers of fortune," to the American internationalists who fought in Spain in the thirties on the side of the lawful Republican government against Francoist rebels backed by German nazis and Italian fascists. A sacrilegious comparison.

No matter how hard they tried in Washington's corridors of power to obfuscate matters and wriggle out of the awkward position they had found themselves in, everything soon clicked into place.

Eugene Hasenfus, 45, had served in the Marine Corps from 1960 to 1965 and was trained in airlifting supplies to combat operations zones. During the Vietnam war he worked for the Air America line referred to, not without reason, as the CIA air force. Recently he was hired by another charter airline, Southern Air Transport (known to be a contractor to the spying and sabotage agency) with headquarters in Miami, Florida. For three thousand dollars a month, he made secret flights to Nicaragua from Aquacate (Honduras) and Ilopango (El Salvador) air bases. The tenth flight proved his last. He said that at the Salvadoran base the operations were supervised by two CIA agents of Cuban descent, one of them named Max Gomez....

No sooner had the news of the incident come from Nicaragua, than Hasenfus's wife Sally put a call through to the State Department from her home in Marinette, Wisconsin, to testify that her husband worked for the CIA. Incidentally, the Nicaraguan government permitted her, for humanitarian reasons, to come to Managua to see him.

Senator David Durenberger (Republican), Chairman of the Senate Intel-

ligence Committee, who is certainly familiar with the inner workings of the U.S. special services, cautiously remarked that, in his opinion, some people in the U.S. government know something about it.

True enough, it transpired shortly that the "unknowing" Administration actually knew a great deal about the piratical flight—including the dead pilots' names. At a closed briefing Congressmen were told that both of them—William Cooper and Wallace Sawyer—had indeed been CIA men but not at the time of their deaths. A card bearing the name of a U.S. State Department official was found on one of the bodies. Just a friend? Hardly so, considering that the man turned out to be on the staff of the unit responsible for "rendering aid" to the Nicaraguan contras.

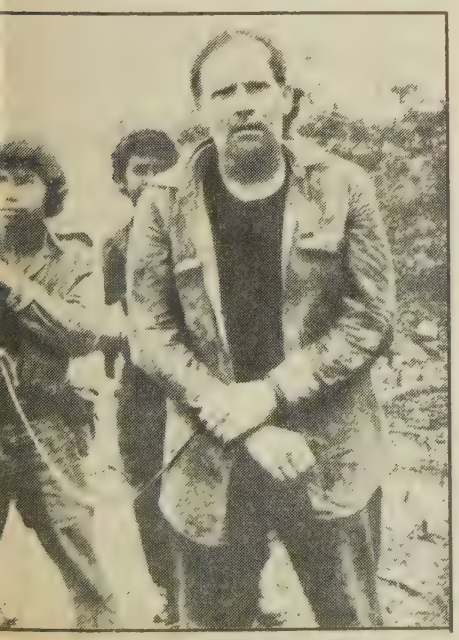
As the dense smoke screen of Washington lies lifted, it turned out that all the strings were being pulled from the White House—specifically, from the office of U.S. Vice-President George Bush.

It is to the Vice-President, journalists have discovered, that the above-mentioned Max Gomez (alias Felix Rodriguez) reports on his activity, which consists in secretly airlifting military supplies to the Nicaraguan contras from the air base in El Salvador. In Gomez's own words, he contacts the Vice-President's office almost every day. He has met with Bush in person three times, which the latter does not deny. "I met with him [Gomez] twice, shook hands with him a third time, he's a patriot," the Associated Press Agency quotes the Vice-President as saying.

This "patriot" who took part in the CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, is immediately responsible to Donald Gregg, the Vice-President's national security adviser (both saw action in the Vietnam war). Gregg, described by the same agency as a retired CIA man, recommended Gomez to José Rafael Bustillo, the Salvadoran Air Force commander-in-chief, as an adviser. So while drawing his pay from the Salvadoran Air Force, he reports back to the U.S. Vice-President.

The American Eugene Hasenfus, caught red-handed in Nicaragua, now faces a people's tribunal in Managua. "It is not my war, but a war waged by the U.S. government of which I am the first POW," he says.

AFP-TASS photo



Sidestepping the Law

This lifts the veil from another gross deception of the American people resorted to by the Administration in Washington. It will be recalled that in 1984 the U.S. Congress denied the Administration (under pressure from the American public which does not want another Vietnam in Central America) funds with which to support the anti-Sandinist forces. The ruling held for almost two years until the White House wrested $100 million from the legislators for this aggressive purpose.

As time went by, the contras, however, somehow managed to maintain their levels of arms and ammunition and continued their bandit raids on Nicaragua.

Official Washington reassured puzzled Americans—especially Congressmen—that for its part it gave the contras nothing, that for all it knew the aid could be coming to them from private anti-communist donors, and that the Administration had nothing to do with it. Few took these explanations seriously.

The New York Times quoted a high-ranking government official as having recently admitted that hundreds of operations airlifting arms worth millions of dollars, raised by private individuals and friendly states to the contras, had been carried out over two years. The White House and the Pentagon, he added, woud like the part they had in the operations to be described as "observation" rather than "supervision and control."

Observation, indeed....

Doyle McManus of the Los Angeles Times described how it was done as follows: "The emerging story of Gomez," he writes, "illustrates the way a group of White House and Administration officials over the last two years **knit together a web** [underlining mine.—**A.U.**] of private military and financial assistance that sidestepped legal restrictions imposed by Congress in 1984.... Organized at Reagan's behest and operating with his blessing, a network of private citizens and foreign governments has worked to provide the contras with airplanes, guns and food to maintain their war against Nicaragua's leftist regime whether Congress approved or not.... Reagan and Bush detailed aides to help the private aid network get organized with instructions to insulate the Administration from any direct responsibility for its operations. As a result... the White House appears to have skirted and stretched the law forbidding direct aid to the rebels, but stopped just short of breaking it."

So there you are: the important thing is to leave no traces.

The shooting down of the American plane in Nicaragua has revealed the "traces" for all the world to see. Crime will out, as the saying goes.

Whereas in the case of Libya Washington promulgated falsehoods, in the C-123 plane incident it denied the truth. Both tactics come in the same category of misinformation, deception and fraud.

Is there any hope that the State Department's newly-established anti-misinformation bureau will erect a barrier in the way of deception and lies in U.S. foreign policy? There are none. As it turns out, the unit has been set up for an entirely different purpose. Its function is, the State Department explains, to counteract mass communications coming in from foreign states, especially the Soviet Union—presumably by means of more shameless misinformation and slander than ever.

A. USVATOV

Sun Yatsen

"Attention! Anyone who indicates the whereabouts of state criminal Sun Yatsen, also known as Sun Wen, born in the village of Cuiheng, Xiangshan County, Guangdong Province, or otherwise helps the authorities to apprehend him will receive a reward of 10,000 liangs. "Treat this with due attention and reverent zeal!"

Such notices were to be seen all over China in the 1890s. The criminals wanted were more often than not those who opposed the monarchy and were struggling for a better deal for the Chinese people. Among them Sun Yatsen was undoubtedly a towering figure. Maxim Gorky described him as the Chinese Hercules.

The world learned about Sun Yatsen (1866-1925) at the end of the last century. Born into a peasant family, trained as a doctor, he became a professional revolutionary. In 1894 the young patriot set up an Alliance for the Revival of China which opposed the Manchu Qing dynasty that was oppressing the Chinese people. After an abortive armed insurrection in Guangzhou, Sun Yatsen left China and eventually found himself in London. The Qing government's agents tracked him down and confined him in the legation.

Sun's British friends and the local press staged a campaign for his release. The Qing diplomats were told: if Sun Yatsen was not freed 10,000 people would gather in front of the mission, and then the Emperor's envoys would have themselves to blame. This was one of the first effective acts of international solidarity with the struggle of the Chinese revolutionaries. Sun Yatsen was released.

Having gained his freedom, he wrote a book "Kidnapped in London," which made him famous in Europe, including Russia. While in exile, Sun Yatsen maintained links with Russian Narodniks, Social Revolutionaries and Social Democrats. It was from them that he later learned about the experience of the Russian revolution of 1905-07 which led to the awakening of Asia.

In the summer of 1905, in Japan, Sun Yatsen created a new, larger and broader-based league. Within the next five years the league planned and carried out more than ten anti-Qing armed uprisings in various parts of China, all of which were, however, put down.

The First President

The long-awaited victory came with the revolution of 1911 which overthrew Manchu rule and put an end to the feudal monarchy that had reigned in the country for over two millennia. Sun Yatsen became the first provisional President of the Chinese Republic, at the time the only republic on the Asian continent. And although he was President for only three months (from January 1 to April 1, 1912) he accomplished much to improve the lot of the common people, promote culture, education, and public health and democratize the administration system. Sun Yatsen's radical programme for the renewal of Chinese society was met with fierce opposition on the part of internal reactionaries and external imperialist circles. At the same time, it enjoyed broad support among progressives inside and outside China.

The Russian Bolsheviks sincerely rejoiced in the success of their Chinese comrades-in-arms. In a resolution "The Chinese Revolution" drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Sixth (Prague) All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in January 1912, the Bolsheviks voiced their solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Chinese people and condemned imperialist policies hostile to China.

In his article "Democracy and Narodism in China" (1912) Lenin described Sun Yatsen as a "revolutionary democrat, endowed with the nobility and heroism," and his programme as "the platform of the great Chinese democracy." Although Lenin, while recognizing the undoubted merits of the great Chinese revolutionary, also pointed to some of his weaknesses (his utopianism and indecision due to lack of a proletarian base), he nonetheless believed that the future belonged to the cause of Sun Yatsen.

The gains of the 1911 revolution did not last. Among the objective factors that brought about the defeat of the Republican revolutionaries were the weakness of the bourgeois and proletarian classes. The feudal lords, compradors and militarists were still strong and they enjoyed the support of Western imperialism. The subjective reasons for the failure of the revolutionary democrats were lack of unity in their ranks, the propensity of most of their leaders to compromise, the absence of a consistent anti-feudal and anti-imperialist programme, and an insufficient reliance on the masses. Grieving over the setbacks of the Chinese revolutionaries, progressive people in Russia sympathetically followed Sun Yatsen's continuing struggle, deriving lessons from errors, miscalculations and defeats. He organized resistance to General Yuan Shikai, a stooge of the feudal-comprador counterrevolutionaries who had usurped power and proclaimed himself emperor. Following the death of Yuan Shikai in 1916, Sun Yatsen led the revolutionary provinces of the south against the militarists of the north who controlled the Peking government. In 1917 Sun Yatsen became the head of the Guangzhou government and the forces of the south. It was here that news reached him of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

Sun Yatsen in 1912 when China's President.

A Message to Lenin

Sun Yatsen was the first Chinese political leader to hail the victory of the Russian Revolution of October 1917. In 1918 he sent a telegram to the Soviet government and to Lenin which read in part: "The revolutionary party of China expresses its profound admiration for the arduous struggle being waged by the revolutionary party of your country, and expresses the hope that the revolutionary parties of Russia and China will unite in joint struggle."

In a letter addressed to the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Re-

public Georgi Chicherin, Sun Yatsen sent greetings to Lenin, whom he called his friend. Replying to the Chinese revolutionary leader, the People's Commissar wrote: "Comrade Lenin has read your letter with the greatest interest, and he is following your activity with warm sympathy."

Sun Yatsen closely watched the activities of the Leninist Party and the revolutionary changes that were taking place in Russia under its leadership. In 1919 he recreated the Guomindang party originally formed in 1912, and got down to its drastic reorganization in 1923. Sun Yatsen sent a group of Guomindang party and military leaders to Moscow to draw upon the experience of the Bolshevik Party, to see how the Bolsheviks handle the problems involved in building up the Party, the state and the armed forces. He appealed to the Soviet government to send political and military advisers to China to help the revolutionary movement. The request was granted.

In his talks with Mikhail Borodin, chief political adviser to the Central Executive Committee of the Guomindang, Sun Yatsen was eager to know more about Lenin's life and work. "When Sun Yatsen asked me about Lenin," Mikhail Borodin reminisces, "a special warmth came to his eyes and his questions and remarks revealed his admiration for the personality of Lenin, the revolutionary and leader of the oppressed the world over."

Sun Yatsen grieved over Lenin's death. In a telegram of condolences, he wrote: "The name of Lenin and his memory will live down the centuries. People will continue to honour his heroic qualities of character which make him the greatest political figure in modern history and a leader of tremendous creative potential. His achievements will never die because they are based on social ideas that are sure to conquer and guide the thoughts and aspirations of posterity."

Our Goals Coincide

Drawing on the experience of the October Revolution in Russia and his own diverse experience over many years, Sun Yatsen developed and refined his political doctrine. He attached great significance to the backing of the Soviet Union. "We should not forget," he wrote in his appeal to the population of China, "that free Russia has launched the slogan 'Hands off China!' Distance does not exist for the slogans that come from Moscow. They spread around the world like lightning and find response in the heart of every workingman.

"We know that the Soviets never take the side of the unrighteous. If they are on our side, then truth is on our side, and truth is sure to win, a righteous cause is sure to triumph over violence."

Sun Yatsen saw Soviet Russia as a loyal and reliable ally of all fighters for China's freedom and independence. "The goals of the Chinese revolution," he stressed, "coincide with the goals of the Russian revolution, and the goals of the Russian revolution coincide with the goals of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese and Russian revolutions are following the same path. That is why China and Russia do not only have close relations, but form a single family owing to their revolutionary ties."

At the First Congress of the Guomindang in 1924 Sun Yatsen added to the programmatic Three Principles of the People—Nationalism, Democracy and People's Well-Being (which at the new stage meant the struggle against imperialism, the establishment of a democratic republic, and the improvement of rural and urban living conditions)—three further political principles which envisaged alliance with the U.S.S.R., cooperation with the Communist Party and reliance on the workers and peasants.

Testament

On March 12, 1925, Sun Yatsen died of stomach and liver cancer in Peking where he had come in spite of his grave illness to work for national unity, end internecine wars and unite all the forces of China against militarism and imperialism. A day before his death Sun Yatsen drew up a Testament in which he called on all his associates "to wage a struggle in alliance with the peoples of the world who base their relations with us on equality."

At the same time, Sun Yatsen dictated a Message to the Soviet Union, in which he expressed his cherished hope that "the time will come when the Soviet Union as the best friend and ally of China will hail a powerful and free China, when the two countries will march hand in hand and achieve victory in the great battle for the freedom of the oppressed nations of the world."

The texts of the Testament and the Message are engraved on a white marble wall in the Sun Yatsen Memorial in the grounds of the old Biyunsi temple in the northwestern suburb of Peking. Buried in a pagoda behind the pavilion are the clothes and headgear of Sun Yatsen. The cut of his zhongshanzhuang (tunic) is still very popular in China.

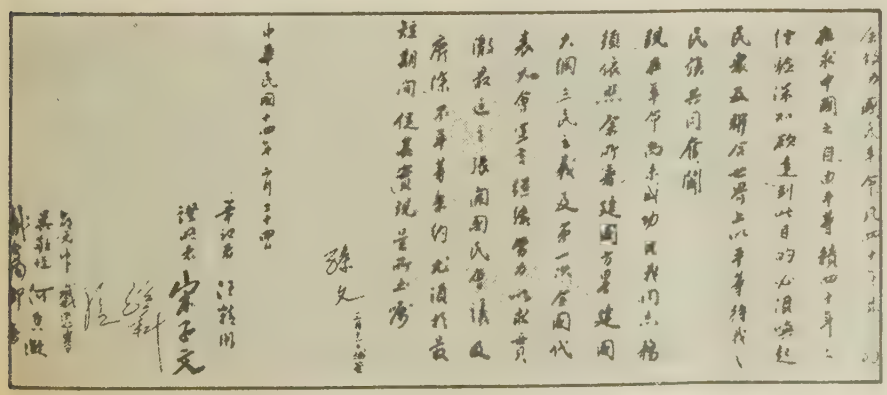
Sun Yatsen is buried in a majestic mausoleum in Nanking, the city where he was elected the first president of the Chinese Republic. People from all over the country and from abroad come to pay homage to China's great son. The stream of visitors has markedly increased now, on the eve of Sun Yatsen's 120th anniversary to be observed on November 12.

The memory of Sun Yatsen is honoured in the Soviet Union. His writings, reminiscences, and documents and studies of his political activities are being published. The memory of Sun Yatsen—revolutionary, thinker, and champion of friendship between our two great peoples—is honoured by millions in the Land of the Soviets.

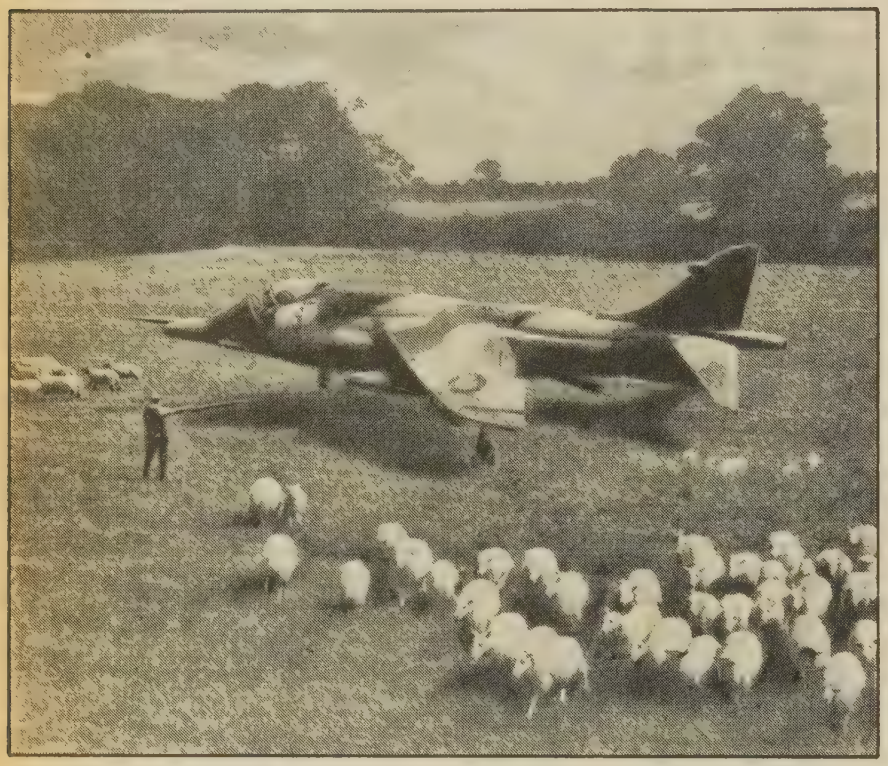
Boris BORODIN

Sun Yatsen's testament.

From the photo album "In Memory of the Teacher Sun Yatsen" (Peking)



The Vicious Circle of Decline



Why did a British missile carrier touch down among grazing sheep? To advertise the latest Plessey electronic equipment capable of "pinpointing an aircraft's whereabouts anywhere on earth around the clock." This advertising stunt has historical connotations as well. The time when Britain was famed exclusively for its wool is long past, it implies. Today it is in the vanguard of technological progress epitomized by Plessey, which has attained "the height of high technology."

This piece of advertising hype contrasting the present with the past suggests a parallel. Indeed, if the missile carrier is an indication of British capitalism's technological maturity, the sheep ought to be regarded as the symbols of its bygone infancy.

The supply of wool to the first mills by feudal lords gave the impetus to the primary accumulation of capital which turned the old Merry England of free yeomen into a land of beggars and vagabonds. A 16th-century English chronicler wrote that as a result of ploughlands being converted into pastures "countless houses and small farmsteads have disappeared, much fewer people live off the land, many towns have fallen into decay, although new ones are blossoming at the same time." As Thomas More, the author of "Utopia," put it in those days, sheep "swallow downe the very men themselves."

And here is an excerpt from a present-day "chronicle" taken from Der Spiegel weekly, Hamburg: "All over Britain one sees gloomy industrial ruins: abandoned plants, deserted docks and shipyards, gutted goods depots. The arena of the 18th-century industrial revolution is now in danger of relapsing into pre-industrial times.... Not all of Britain has turned into an industrial desert, of course. The M4 highway running westward from London is lined with plants manufacturing the latest in technology.... The industrial slump in Britain has pushed more people down to the lowest rung of the social ladder, and they are falling ever further behind the middle classes."

What is devouring Britain today? The respected Financial Times writes that although there is still no consensus about the effect of military spending on economic growth, this effect is on the whole negative (incidentally, among NATO countries Britain is second only to the U.S. in the size of its military spending). The paper refers to the results of surveys by British economists which can be summed up as follows.

For all the substantial state allocations for research and development (R&D) work, British industry falls short of its rivals (above all the Japanese) in technical standards owing chiefly to the fact that most of these allocations go to the Defence Ministry. As a result, research and development only go to modernize munitions industry products rather than to improve manufacturing techniques generally. From 1974 to 1984, the proportion of munitions in the manufacturing industry's output doubled to constitute 12.3 per cent, and in the electronic and aerospace industry's output, 50 per cent. This has resulted in the polarization of industrial structures between a small number of high technology companies and the bulk of the industry which gains little from the government promotion of technical innovations.

It is noteworthy that British economists echo the conclusions of a number of their American colleagues (see New Times No. 39, 1986, pp. 14-15) on the pernicious effect of the arms race on the economy, and also see the way out in terms of political solutions. The Financial Times quotes a survey published by Lloyds Bank as saying that... "if Britain is to break the vicious circle of decline [it] has got to re-orientate her technological effort away from the defence sector and towards the civilian markets. However unpalatable politically, this task will not be achieved without a relative shift of resources out of the military sectors, in other words substantial and lasting cuts in expenditures on defence equipment and R and D."

The problem is not a consequence of the international situation. Reykjavik has made it perfectly clear that the Soviet Union is prepared for a radical reduction of all weapons. So if the ruling circles in leading Western countries really want to break the vicious circle of decline, this could be achieved in a matter of years were it not for those who, not without ulterior motives, advertise the "latest in high technology."

In August, the American corporation Westinghouse Electric signed a contract with Plessey for the delivery of radars and other electronic equipment. According to the Associated Press agency, this is just the first in a series of contracts (including those having to do with SDI) worth a total of a billion dollars. So it is not unlikely that instead of the RAF missile carrier, the British company Plessey will advertise an American "star wars" laser carrier some time in the future.

F. GORYUNOV

Revolutionary Optimism

Nicaragua is celebrating the silver jubilee of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (SNLF), founded by the ardent patriot Carlos Fonseca Amador, who was murdered by death squads ten years ago on November 8, 1976. His killers decapitated him and brought his head to Somoza, who wanted tangible proof of the death of this legendary hero, who struck such brute fear into the dictator's heart. A little later, as Tomas Borge Martinez, member of the SNLF National Leadership, recollects, "the smiling governor of Tipitapa prison entered our tiny cell holding a copy of Novedades, and told us that Carlos Fonseca was dead. After a few seconds we replied: 'You are mistaken, colonel, Carlos Fonseca is one of those dead men who never die.' "

"Today, after its leader's death, the Sandinist revolution is confidently advancing towards its final victory. Our dreams are being translated into historic deeds. The optimism of the Sandinists is objective," Borge wrote afterwards. "Just as we said when facing the military tribunal, for us, for our people, dawn is no longer such a dream. It is for this that we are fighting. It is for this that Augusto Cesar Sandino, Carlos Fonseca and hundreds of Nicaraguan patriots and revolutionaries shed their blood."

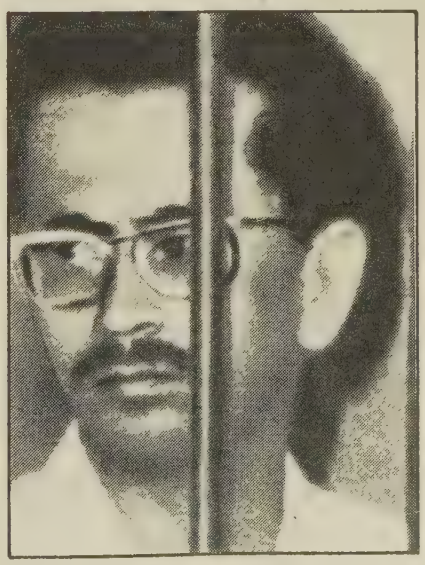
In the second half of the 1950s, conditions emerged that were conducive to building up a national revolutionary vanguard capable of captaining the popular revolutionary war started by Nicaragua's national hero, Augusto Cesar Sandino, in the late 1920s.

It stands to reason that the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 could not but influence the surging tide of revolution. In 1961 the Sandinists began to form cells and units which subsequently became the basis of the military-political structure of a sweeping anti-dictatorial movement seeking to overthrow one of Latin America's harshest tyrannies.

The Sandinist movement soon became an independent political force unaffected by the traditional bourgeois parties, which merely simulated opposition to Somoza. As it gathered momentum, the Sandinist National Liberation Front began to discharge the functions of both a political and military organization. It upheld and represented the interests of factory workers, the peasantry, the democratic intelligentsia, office employees and college and university students. Its banner served to rally the whole country against the dictatorship. The Front became the sole organization capable of crushing the armed might of the Somozist regime, which enjoyed the extensive backing of the U.S.

Between 1970 and 1975 the SNLF greatly consolidated its position among the people. Underground groups formed in city and countryside and in the mountains. In their activities they followed the strategy of a revolutionary popular war blueprinted by Augusto Cesar Sandino to topple the Somozist dictatorship. Whereas formerly the SNLF had undertaken combat actions only in emergencies, by 1976 it had adopted the offensive tactic of unremitting military operations. This elevated the struggle to a new and higher level on the eve of the decisive storm to achieve liberation and win power. The Sandinists launched this offensive in March 1979.

Skilfully combining working people's strikes with a popular rebellion and the combat operations of the guerrilla units in July 1979 the SNLF achieved the victory of the popular anti-imperialist revolution. Committees for the defence of the revolution began to be set up throughout the country in order to involve the population more vigorously in the effort to restore the war-ravaged economy and defend the people's achievements.



In the forty years of his life Carlos Fonseca was imprisoned and tortured time and again. He is seen here, again behind bars in 1957, after returning home from the Moscow World Youth and Student Festival.

In one of its first programme documents the SNLF declared as its primary objectives putting an end to Nicaragua's economic and political dependence on foreign companies, the transfer of land into the hands of the peasantry, and industrialization. Armed struggle was defined as the basic form of resistance to the dictatorship.

After defeating the dictatorship, the Sandinists established a new state system, shattering the military bureaucratic machine founded on clublaw and repression. Progressive reforms were initiated across the board in Nicaragua's political and economic life.

In the years that have passed since the revolution, the Sandinists have consolidated their leading role. Yet the class struggle has grown more acute. Washington unleashed an undeclared war against Nicaragua. Imperialist circles were angered when they saw the people of a tiny Central American state embark on the path of independence and social justice. They tried to intimidate them and strangle the republic. This policy was pursued with particular vigour after the advent of the Reagan Administration.

To all practical intents, the U.S. is preparing for outright intervention. Only recently the gangs of counter-revolutionaries it has sustained received another $100,000,000 and stepped up their wholesale terror against the people. However, the patriots are putting up stiff resistance. The Nicaraguans are selflessly championing their right to independence and freedom. At the same time they are doing all they can to defuse the explosive situation in Central America politically and are becoming constructively involved in the Contadora process. The Sandinists regard as their foremost priority the effort to defend their country from the encroachments of the imperialists and their hirelings. They attach great significance to the internationalist assistance and fraternal solidarity of the peoples of other countries.

The CPSU, which is linked to the SNLF by ever greater and stronger friendship, and the whole Soviet people, support the just struggle of the people of Nicaragua. Dwelling upon the relations between our two countries, Nicaragua's President, Daniel Ortega, observed that they were "really model, equal and fraternal" in the political, economic and other fields.

A. TITOV

Three Capitals, Three Epochs

Residents of Cotonou, the main political and economic centre of the People's Republic of Benin, sometimes use the old name of this square—"Goose Foot." It owed this name to the transport intersection where residential areas and blocks of administrative buildings converge and roads fan out to various parts of the city. But ten years ago it was given a new name—Heroes' Square.

It was here, at the approaches to the presidential palace and the parliament building, that soldiers and townspeople beat off an attack by a gang of foreign mercenaries on January 16, 1977, and put them to flight. The armed interventionists landed at the nearby airport with the intention of immediately seizing the government buildings, staging a coup in this small West African country and putting an end to its progressive orientation.

"The people's government held out then because in that swift but fierce clash everyone who happened to be at hand rose in its defence," Elizabeth Balley recalls.

This vigorous and confident woman is leader of the Revolutionary Administrative Committee of Cotonou's 6th District for the fifth year in succession.

Many-Faced Cotonou

Visitors to Cotonou only usually see the seaside part of the city with its offices, shops and hotels. They rarely venture into districts that are further from the sea and where most of the city's 400,000-strong population live. Hens with their chickens roam the narrow, potholed, dusty streets along with jet-black piglets. Dozens of people live in each of the small identical-looking houses. A Beninian, as is the custom in Africa, honours family ties and will not deny shelter to a distant relative who has left his village for the city in search of a job, or even to a person who merely happens to hail from the same region.

This area gives Cotonou the appearance of a "big village." Yesterday's peasants form the majority of its population. Here they do not have to part drastically with their traditional way of life and the oppressiveness of concrete does not dog them at every step. Yet gradually the city is acquiring the features of a modern metropolis.

Cotonou is especially proud of its deepwater harbour.

"Our harbour is rightly called the lungs of Benin and it handles up to 90 per cent of the country's exports and imports," we were told by the director-general of the port. "We expanded and modernized the port extensively early in the 1980s. Its cargo-handling capacity was doubled, although it is not always fully used." In a sense the port is an index of the republic's economy.

At one pier bales of cotton were being prepared for loading. Standing next to them were silvery tanks with the inscription "SONICOG" on their sides. This is the name of the state-owned company that processes oil-bearing plants.

The main SONICOG plant is in Akpakpe, a part of the city which is the industrial heart of the entire country. Enterprises stretch for several kilometres along both sides of the speedway linking Cotonou with the official capital of the republic—Porto-Novo. These are a vegetable-oil plant, a textile mill, a perfumery factory, a soft drinks factory and a beer distillery, a furniture factory, workshops for the repair of motor vehicles and a cement mill.

"The mill was built in 1978 with the assistance of a West German firm," we were told by the administrative director K.M. Amagbenion. "True, its commissioning was somewhat delayed. We discovered that there had been numerous errors in the project as well as faults and errors in the process of construction. All these defects were overcome by our own specialists and as from 1981 we have not employed any foreigners."

In the economy the young republic is trying to pursue an independent policy. But it is tightly bound to the capitalist economic system and is subjected to painful neocolonialist pressure.

"Benin wants to cooperate with all countries. On condition, of course, that this is just and mutually advantageous cooperation," said Ali Houdou, member of the Central Committee of the ruling Popular Revolution Party of Benin (PRPB), Minister of Information and Communications, "It is an open secret, however, that developing countries, and Benin is no exception, pay Western companies exorbitant prices for the implementation of economic projects. I must say with regret that some government employees, including those in positions of authority, have turned out to be servitors of neocolonialism. For considerations, these enemies of the revolution sell the country's interests, back dubious contracts with the West and slander cooperation with socialist countries. But Benin only stands to gain from the further development of equitable relations with socialist countries, the more so as it pursues similar ideas and political aims to theirs."

The 2nd Congress of the PRPB, held in November 1985, openly noted the serious problems in the national economy, in particular in industry, which accounts for only seven per cent of the gross national product. Raw materials are limited. There is not enough money to expand and modernize production. There is a shortage of qualified specialists. Considering the republic's modest possibilities, the congress decided to concentrate efforts in such spheres of the economy as agriculture, energy, communications and the manufacture of prime necessities. Enterprises operating at a loss are handed over to private hands. This measure does not mean a rejection of the strategic course of creating conditions for socialist transformations.

Speaking recently in the town of Ouidah, Chairman of the PRPB Central Committee, President of the Republic Mathieu Kérékou stated that only a socialist society can guarantee all citizens real freedom and social justice and raise living standards.

In National Interests

It is less than 40 kilometres from Cotonou to Porto-Novo and many local people make this journey almost daily.

Some have found jobs in the neighbouring city, others bring commodities to market or come to visit relatives.

Even the African press sometimes calls Cotonou the capital of Benin, although Porto-Novo officially retains this title. It got its name from the Portuguese in the 18th century because they thought it resembled the Portuguese town of Porto. Standing on the shore of a lagoon some ten kilometres from the Atlantic Ocean, Porto-Novo served the French colonialists as the administrative centre of Dahomey, as the country was called until 1975.

After the country won political independence in 1960 almost all the ministries gradually moved to Cotonou. Parliament and the residence of the President were also moved there.

The last ministries are preparing to leave Porto-Novo, although it is not a dying city. Ouémé Province, of which it is the administrative centre, is one of the most populous and economically developed.

By European standards, Benin's industrial enterprises are small. But they have an important role to play in the struggle for economic independence. It is understood here that without a manufacturing industry serving local needs, Benin is doomed to remain for ever an agricultural appendage.

"Before the revolution, the country's economy depended entirely on the West," said a member of the ideological commission of the PRPB Central Committee. "The new orientation is that the economy should accord with the country's interests. Our policy is now to create wherever possible full-cycle enterprises converting local raw materials into finished products for domestic consumption."

More and more concern for working people is being shown at factories and plants. At the cement works, for instance, workers are issued free milk, soap and special working clothes. It has a first-aid station and a pharmacy. The management of the soap factory in Porto-Novo has organized its own transport to take personnel to work. It is to build housing for its employees.

The First Swallows

The young republic has had numerous difficulties. But it also has achievements to its credit. 1985 was a very good year for virtually all crops, especially cotton.

The Avedji cooperative near Locossa is one of those that grow both cotton and food crops.

To reach that farm we had to turn off the asphalted road to a dirt road covered with red laterite dust and drive on to a settlement of straw-roofed mud huts. In the field beyond plantations of maize as tall as a man we saw several people in straw hats digging out elongated tubers of manioc.

The Avedji cooperative, we were told, was formed in 1982. It is a small one, consisting of nine families. Members of the cooperative till the land jointly but their implements remain in private ownership. The profits are shared in proportion to the labour and material input of each member.

In Benin such cooperatives are called "revolutionary associations of the cooperative type." There are more than fifty of them in Mono Province and more than 500 in the country. Experimental agricultural cooperatives of the socialist type began to be established several years ago. As distinguished from the first type, implements in them are the property of the cooperative. But their number is still very small. They do not influence the overall picture and can be described as the first swallows.

Waiting for the ferry. TASS photo

In Ancient Abomey

In Benin one should not fail to visit Abomey, the ancient capital of Danhomé, the kingdom of the Fon people who once wielded enormous influence in West Africa, and the cradle of national culture. From the 17th century on 12 monarchs reigned in Abomey. The history of their reigns is fairly well known, and can be learned in the museum that has been opened in the royal palace grounds, surrounded by adobe fortress walls.

The descendants of the former rulers enjoy respect in Abomey to this day. There even exists a governing council of the royal dynasties of Abomey that functions under a charter approved by the government.

"The council is elected by all members of the royal families," said its chairman Glele. "Its guiding body is the bureau consisting in the main of the elders of clans who have unquestionable authority.

"Our task is to maintain the traditions of the Fon, the biggest ethnic group in Benin," Glele went on, "to preserve the traditional rituals if they are not in conflict with the ideals of the revolution of 1972. For instance, lately our council decided to discontinue some rituals which require too much time and money. The remaining festivals have been curtailed. Thus, in honour of the ancestors we now sacrifice not twelve bulls—by number of families—but only one or two. Festivals that used to last for several months have now been reduced to 9-12 days."

But Abomey has not only an ancient but also a modern history. Mathieu Kérékou, the head of the military-revolutionary government that came to power in 1972, made an important speech on national orientation on November 30, 1972, in Goho Square, which lies at the southern entrance into the town on the site where a national hero, the Abomey King Béhanzin, stopped the advance of French colonial troops almost a hundred years ago. In his speech Mathieu Kérékou called for the destruction of all forms of foreign domination and for a struggle against neocolonialism. Two years later the striving for social justice logically led the leadership of the country to choose a path of socialist orientation.

A. PROSVETOV and V. TYURKIN

Cotonou

What Jennifer and Yegor Sing About

in the Soviet-U.S. show "Peace Child"

"We sat in silence, trying not to stir lest our breath snuffed out the candles.... The feeling of friendship was almost palpable, and it was friendship of a different kind, friendship between nations. It can be very strong. Together we lived through a great deal that was good, and shared joys and sorrows...."

This is the story of Ella Vityuk, a member of the mixed Soviet-American musical company which so far has only one production in its repertoire, "Peace Child." Delegates to the 12th World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow will remember the première of this unique show, which included, among other numbers, the song "We Wish You Happiness," which is now sung in San Francisco and Moscow, Tokyo and Boston.

The future producers of the show met in Moscow a few months before the opening of the festival; they were David Woollcombe of the U.S., president of the international Peace Child Foundation, and Soviet director Vladimir Alenikov. They brought together American musicians Steve Riffkin and David Gordon, and Soviet group leader Stas Namin. They all set out to accomplish a common goal, namely, to let millions see and hear Soviet and American children who want peace. And peace can be achieved when the ice of mistrust and prejudice is broken and strong bridges of friendship among peoples have been built.

A record was made jointly and a satellite-linked TV "space bridge" between Moscow and Minnesota broadcast. Then came a tour of Soviet cities and Soviet performers have recently come back from a tour of the United States.

It all started with the idea of "The Peace Book" by the American writer Bernard Benson. He described how American and Soviet children learn that they can be friends although the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are separated by thousands of kilometres. The plot was used by David Woollcombe in his show "Peace Child," and by that time he had already established an organization of the same name. The purpose of the organization was to take the show round the world.

Vladimir Alenikov:

"David proposed that only American children take part in the show, playing the parts of both Soviet and American characters. But after he had heard our young performers from the V. Popov Choir, he readily agreed that the American characters in the show be played by Americans and the Soviet ones by our children. We produced it very quickly, using music by David Gordon and Stas Namin's song 'We Wish You Happiness,' with Vladislav Druzhinin participating as choreographer. The show has been substantially revised since the World Youth and Student Festival but that was precisely what we wanted: action should develop continuously, with new scenes, some of them improvised, introduced. Today it is about how children have made and produced the 'Peace Child' show, and it is very lively and sincere. New themes for the production were also prompted by the tour of the United States."

Vladimir Alenikov said that the show had been substantially revised—but the idea is the same: to use music and art

Promoting Mutual Understanding

NIKOLAI CHETVERIKOV,
Chairman of the Board of the U.S.S.R.
Copyright Agency

International cultural exchange and peace are concepts that are inseparable from each other. This was confirmed once again at the 35th congress of the International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers (CISAC) which ended recently in Madrid.

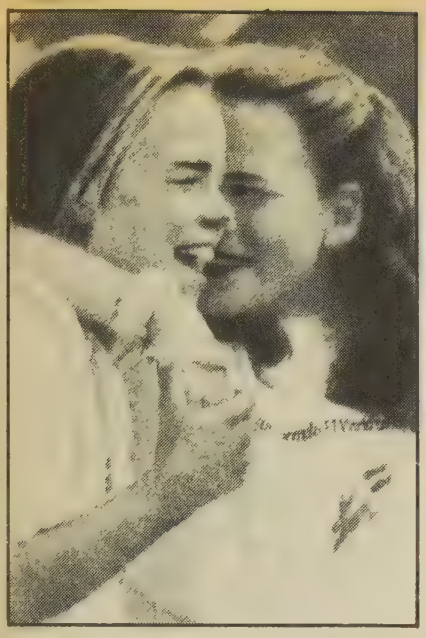
This forum, held in the International Year of Peace, was highly representative, with delegations of 86 copyright societies from 48 countries, including 7 socialist states of Europe, taking part. Many international organizations, too, were represented.

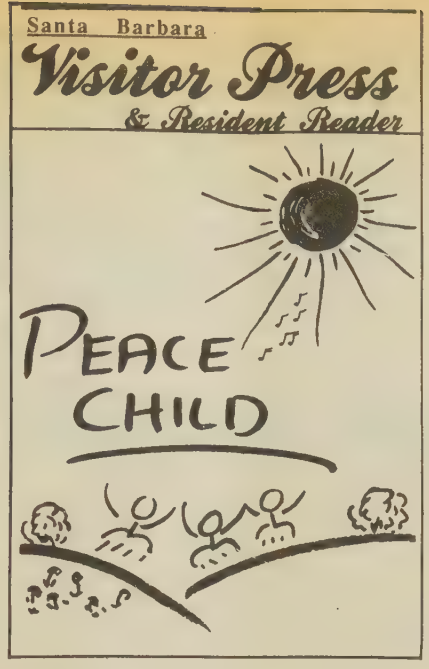
The six main questions examined by the congress dealt with copyright matters.

But to return to the congress proper. One of the main questions examined was that of relations between authors and publishers. In the capitalist world, as we know, the author is obliged to place his work at the complete and uncontrolled disposal of the publisher. This state of affairs was sharply criticized by the delegates. Much interest was evinced in author-publisher relations in the socialist countries, where the author has a say in all matters pertaining to his manuscript.

As Dyorgy Boytha, director of the Hungarian Copyright Agency (ARTISJUS), said in his report to the congress, in the socialist world an end has been put to the monopoly of the publishers and the authors' interests are fully protected. The inalienable rights of the author in Russia first found legal expression in a relevant decree signed by Lenin in 1919. Many of the participants in the congress, taking a positive view of the experience of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries in the matter of protecting authors' rights, urged that the socialist practice of contractual relations be applied more widely—especially in countries where, as Professor John Marshall Kernochan of the U.S. said, the author's rights are assailed in so many ways and under so many pretexts as to give cause for serious alarm.

The problem of protecting authors' rights has acquired particular urgency with the development of new technical means of circulation, such as audio- and video tapes, reprography, satellite television, etc. The pirate raids on art values by the videocassette "business" are doing tremendous and ever-growing harm to the interests of





Cristy Candler and Natasha Gromushkina—two young girls who perform in the "Peace Child" show as advertised in a Santa Barbara newspaper.

to build understanding among nations and make everyone aware of the need for his or her personal contribution to the efforts for peace.

David Woollcombe:

"Peace Child" is a musical fantasy about Soviet and American teenagers who make friends and join forces to achieve peace and forge friendship between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. The Peace Child organization, with its headquarters in a Washington suburb, would like that children's dream to become reality by taking the show to many countries—if possible, to every country on the map. The show had its première in London's Royal Albert Hall in October 1981. But I could never have imagined the success of our performance with the participation of Soviet and American children. How appealing the idea of peace is when it comes from children of the two great powers whose agreements will decide if the skies remain clear or turn into a nightmare of nuclear dust and ashes.

David Woollcombe, a tall young man with lively eyes, adores children and enjoys their undoubted affection.

The moment in the Moscow-Minnesota TV link in which the hands of Jennifer and Yegor "joined" thanks to TV technology stunned viewers: the two children were separated by the ocean.

Soviet and American children would go out hand in hand to take their bows in 12 cities of the U.S.A. and in Vancouver, Canada, and when the time came to say good-bye to one another, they lighted candles and did not part till the last of them went out.

"We have shared joys and sorrows..."

What sorrows did Ella talk about? I leafed through a sheaf of newspapers and magazines which lauded the performances of the children's company.

Regrettably, the show was not to everyone's taste, and U.S. officialdom was especially hostile to it. There were no U.S. officials at the closing performance in the Kennedy Centre in Washington.

Americans were outraged by the insulting behaviour of New York Mayor Edward Koch.

Yegor Druzhinin, 14:

"Our group were invited to meet Mayor Koch. Before that, we had been welcome everywhere. The Mayor of Seattle even allowed each of us to sit at his desk, to step into the American Mayor's shoes, so to speak. But in New York it was different. First, we did not understand that the man in the crumpled shirt and braces who ordered us not to go any farther than the staircase was the Mayor himself. He was holding behind his back a sheet of paper with the text of an address to our group. We did not listen very closely when he was reading it—but having finished with the prepared text, he went on to say that we were enemies, not friends, and as a right-winger, he did not have any scruples about saying so."

The newspaper Seattle Post-Intelligencer wrote indignantly: "During a tour of New York's City Hall, Mayor Edward Koch shocked the Soviet teens by calling their government 'the pits' and expressing a belief that KGB agents were travelling with the 'Peace Child' company."

People in one American city collected 15,000 signatures to a letter of protest addressed to the bullish Mayor. Americans were ashamed of this "hospitality" accorded to peace envoys from the Soviet Union.

Elsewhere, the Soviet children were

authors. The discussion showed that this problem is aggravated by the fact that the national legislation of many countries as well as international conventions contain no provisions applicable to the new ways in which the author's work can be used.

Another important problem is that of the role of the copyright societies and organizations. However thorough and strict copyright legislation might be, it risks becoming a fiction unless it is provided with proper guarantees. In practical terms authors' rights are upheld by authors' associations. Congress participants commended the work of the U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency (VAAP) both in the legal sphere and in promoting the exchange of intellectual values between the Soviet Union and other countries. Recognition of our growing prestige was reflected in the election of VAAP representatives to the leading bodies of CISAC.

In speaking of the congress mention must surely be made of the fact that it took place in a country with which we have spiritual ties of long standing. These ties were given a new powerful impetus by the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. In the 11 years since then VAAP has concluded more than 200 contracts for the publication of works of Spanish writers in the Soviet Union and of Soviet authors in Spain. Direct contacts and exchange of delegations of creative artistes have become immeasurably richer and diversified in this period. Nevertheless, it is our firm conviction that these ties could be still broader. This point was emphasized in our talks with our Spanish partners. By way of example we cited the fact that in the period 1980-86 VAAP has concluded 60 agreements on the publication in the U.S.S.R. of the works of Spanish authors and only 47 on the publication of Soviet writings in Spain. It seems to us that our book exchange could be not only more intensive but also more balanced.

The 35th congress of CISAC showed once again the importance that attaches today to copyright laws. And not only as an instrument of cultural policy but also as a catalyst of spiritual intercourse among nations in the name of mutual understanding and confidence. ■

welcomed with flowers, air balloons and posters. Children's choirs joined the visiting company in performances. Sometimes an improvised stage would be set up in the airport itself and the Soviet musicians, having come down the ramp, would give a concert for the hosts (the show itself could hardly have been produced at the airport).

The Soviet rock group gave 10 concerts in addition to 14 "Peace Child" performances. More than one concert by the Soviet group turned into a "jam session," with American and Soviet musicians mixing on the stage, singing about peace, love and friendship, with melodies tossed about and English and Russian lyrics merging.

The tour of the U.S. proved to be more than just an artistic test for the Soviet performers. There were meetings, debates and press conferences in all the cities where "Peace Child" was shown. And the children always had at their side interpreter Nadezhda Burova, whom they called "our Mommy."

APPOINTMENTS

Vladimir Stepanovich NOVOSELTSEV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Sierra Leone

Vladimir Novoseltsev, a Russian, was born in the village of Bolshe-Peschanka, Nazyvayevsk District, Omsk Region, on June 11, 1938. He graduated from the Kuibyshev State University in Tomsk in 1962, from the Higher Party School under the CPSU Central Committee in 1974 and from the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. in 1986. He is a Cand. Sc. (Economics). A member of the CPSU since 1960.

He started work in 1955 as a fitter at a machine and tractor station in the village of Irtysh, Cherlak District, Omsk Region. From 1959 he was a full-time Young Communist League and Party functionary. From 1963 to 1965 he was a department chief at the Omsk Young Communist League Regional Committee. From 1965 to 1972 he was a lecturer at the Propaganda Department, and assistant to first secretary at the Omsk CPSU Regional Committee. From 1974 to 1976 he was first secretary of the Pervomaisk CPSU District Committee in the city of Omsk. From 1976 to 1978 he was secretary of the Omsk CPSU City Committee and from 1978 to 1984—secretary of the Omsk CPSU Regional Committee.

Vladimir Novoseltsev has been honoured with state awards.

Pogos Semyonovich AKOPOV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Libya

Pogos Akopov, an Armenian, was born in the village of Kvemo Skhvilisi, Akhaltsikhe District, Georgia, on August 10, 1926. In 1945 he graduated from the Tbilisi Railway Technical School and started work as a communication technician in Rustavi, Georgia. Upon graduation from the Moscow State Institute of Economics in 1951 he worked at the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R. In 1960 he graduated from the Higher Diplomatic School, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. A member of the CPSU since 1952.

Pogos Akopov has been in the diplomatic service since 1960. From 1960 to 1968 he held various diplomatic posts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and its offices abroad. From 1968 to 1983 he was counsellor and envoy counsellor of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in Egypt and deputy chief of the Department for Middle Eastern Countries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. From 1983 to 1986 he was Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Kuwait.

Pogos Akopov has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, Order of the Badge of Honour and a medal.

Felix Nikolayevich FEDOTOV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the United Arab Emirates

Felix Fedotov, a Russian, was born in Tomsk on July 3, 1929. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. in 1952. A member of the CPSU since 1955.

Felix Fedotov has been in the diplomatic service since 1952. From 1952 to 1968 he held various diplomatic posts at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and its offices in other countries. From 1968 to 1972 he was counsellor and envoy counsellor of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in Iraq, and deputy chief of the Department for Middle Eastern Countries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. From 1972 to 1978 he was ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Sudan, and from 1978 to 1982 to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. In 1983 and 1984 he was an expert and deputy chief of the Department for Middle Eastern Countries. From 1984 to 1986 he was Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Syria.

Felix Fedotov has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples, and several medals.

Nadezhda Burova:

"The newsmen were for the most part friendly, with the exception of those reporters who had clearly been instructed to put our children through the grind of provocative questions, to throw them off balance and compromise the peace mission."

Yegor Druzhinin:

"I remember one question at a press conference which shocked me. A reporter asked with a smirk what we children would like to take home from America and what we would recommend that America borrow from the Soviet Union. I told him that the Americans should know more about our country: we had come across more than one case of absolute misunderstanding of the basic principles of socialism and ridiculous misconceptions of the Soviet Union. But it was not that which interested the correspondent: his question was about American-made goods which we in the Soviet Union did not have. He thought we would miss such things badly at home. It was weird to hear such things from an adult man at a press conference devoted to our trip, to peace and greater trust between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. It is such people as he who tell tales about bears wandering through Leningrad. It was clear to me that he would misrepresent anything I said, so I merely repeated that what we wanted was not to buy American goods but to offer peace and friendliness. The audience murmured approvingly."

The "Peace Child" badge was a signal of sorts to many Americans. The children said that quite a few people came up to them in the streets, shook hands and thanked them.

Tickets to the show were low-priced so that as many people as possible could attend. The Soviet and American children decided to contribute all the box office returns to the Peace Child Foundation. Posters in the box offices invited spectators to pay more if they could and wanted to help the Peace Child Foundation.

The American film star Paul Newman paid $50,000 for a ticket, and industrialist Armand Hammer $20,000. An American girl whose parents had saved $25,000 to see her through college talked them into contributing the money to the Foundation.

Ella Vityuk:

"We sat in a circle, afraid to breathe. Then we pledged to devote all our energies to the effort for peace and to come together again. It was very sad saying good-bye.... And when we gave our last show at the Kennedy Centre in Washington and bade our last farewell to the audience, few of us could hold back tears."

A. BUDYONNY

The Soviet press is now, as never before, full of criticism of your shortcomings, especially in economic management. Specific examples are cited and offenders named. But what exactly is your "Soviet man" or, as you always write, "the man of the new world"? Is he better than the "old man"? Don't you realize that man is imperfect BY NATURE; that his consumer instincts are irrepressible and his behaviour ultimately irrational?

L. FEILER
Berne, Switzerland

TAKING UP A POINT

LEONID GOLOVANOV, Cand. Sc. (Phil.), replies

No, we have a different attitude. People are products of circumstances and upbringing, and their **human** qualities, positive or negative, are not predetermined by nature, but are conditioned by social relations, the social environment, culture and history. Granted, it is not a simple question. It has been heatedly debated over the centuries. The answer to it is bound up with a multitude of practical problems, from domestic chores to large-scale nationwide undertakings. This may be why a group of your compatriots—Swiss scientists—launched a project to create a model of 21st-century man with the help of a computer. The computer came up with a pretty grim picture: in 100 years' time people will be taller and fatter than the average inhabitant of our planet today. They will have large skulls, prominent foreheads and weak extremities. People will walk little and do nothing with their hands. But what of the changes in people's characters, their moral consciousness and creative potential? This was left out of the model, along with the question, will people be happier? One might say that the **human being** has been omitted from the experiment which was confined to external features, ignoring the essence. Could this be because the authors of the model take a pessimistic view of human nature? Or because they believe it cannot be changed, as your letter suggests? Our famous fellow countryman, Alexander Herzen, wrote over a hundred years ago while in exile in your country: "Sociology will wrest man from the anatomical theatre and give him back to history."

One has to be myopic not to perceive the environment and history behind man and the human world behind the individual. The dialectics of life are such that the people who make up this world are themselves shaped by it, as you, a Swiss, must be aware from your own experience. Don't you identify with a certain culture with all its idiosyncrasies and traditions, ethical and aesthetic values, national attachments, political imperatives, and so on?

Russia too has given the world a certain mould of people. But this does not mean that the mould is definitive. Conditions have changed and so have people. The October Revolution brought dramatic changes. The establishment of a new social system gave rise to a new kind of person, an exponent of new qualities and new values. By using the adjective "Soviet" we underline this novelty which lies first and foremost in new norms of social collective living, and in what is truly an amazing scope and depth of creative activity. Soviet government liberated people from private property relations and any form of exploitation and oppression, and, most importantly, offered unprecedented opportunities for them to reveal their potential.

If you take an unbiassed look at the history of the Soviet Union after the October Revolution you will have to admit that the great leap from economic and cultural backwardness into modernity could only have been accomplished by the concerted efforts of millions of people, who showed not only immense energy and great ability, but also great enthusiasm.

As you follow the Soviet scene, such words as Dneproges, Magnitogorsk, Komsomolsk, Kuzbas, Uralmash, the "Chelyuskin," "Chkalovites," "Stakhanovites," etc., probably mean something to you. They are associated not only with highlights in our history, but with the finest qualities of the Soviet people.

As the French author Romain Rolland wrote in 1931 after visiting the Soviet Union, "this country has not only created giant factories and machines. It has created what is in my view nobler and more beautiful than anything—thousands of new people, a generation of fearless, robust, strong, and dedicated people inspired and moved by ardent faith in a new world."

You are probably aware of the losses we sustained at the hands of the nazis in the last war (1941-45). We lost 10 per cent of our population and 30 per cent of our national wealth. Many experts in the West estimated that it would take decades to restore the Soviet economy. As it was, it took years.

We are not claiming that everything here is ideal. If you tend to be attracted in the main by the critical articles in our press you would perhaps do well to note **what** is being criticized, **by whom,** and **for what purpose.** A worker castigates profiteers, wheeler-dealers who try to line their pockets at the expense of public property, a scientist criticizes bureaucrats who have blocked a valuable invention, a housewife criticizes services, and so on. All our newspapers have a rubric "Follow-up" in which heads of government departments reply to probing questions from the working people, who are the real masters in the Soviet Union. The Soviet people are combating their shortcomings and rectifying their errors (and the only people who do not make mistakes are those who do nothing at all); they are building on their achievements and in the process building themselves. In a society in which the ultimate goal is not gain or profit but the harmonious development of the individual, every advance in economics and culture marks a new stage in the development of "the human factor."

■

Andrei Sokolov's Assets

Though passions over the enthralling duel between Garri Kasparov and Anatoly Karpov have not yet died down completely, the chess world is already looking forward to new battles for the world title. The eyes of all devotees of the ancient game are focussed on Andrei Sokolov, 23, of Moscow.

In the autumn of 1987, Garri Kasparov is to defend his title. The right to challenge him will be contested in Linares, Spain, next February in a special super-final by the former world champion, who lost the rematch, and the winner of the two-year elimination round, Grand Master Andrei Sokolov.

Much has already been said about Karpov, with his record of ten years of victories in major competitive chess events. Neither his achievements and experience, nor his age (35) and fighting spirit make it likely that Karpov will be reconciled to second place in the world chess hierarchy.

But what about the mysterious figure of his opponent?

Strictly speaking, Andrei Sokolov is no novice in the international chess arena. The list of his achievements is fairly considerable. In 1982, he won the world junior chess title. In 1984, he was the winner of the U.S.S.R. Chess Championship. However, probably because of the inconsistency of his performance, he is still relatively unknown to the public at large. His results sometimes astonish, and sometimes embarrass or cause disputes and arguments. There have, indeed, been ups and downs in his creativity, with brilliant victories alternating with inexplicable reverses. Nonetheless, what is remarkable is that Sokolov has managed to emerge victorious in chess competitions of major importance to himself, dooming the authors of sceptical forecasts to discomfiture.

No one expected great results from a débutant at the challengers' tournament in Montpellier, France, as the field of entrants was strong and, moreover, things did not, generally speaking, go in his favour there. At the final stage of the tournament, however, Sokolov somehow imperceptibly forged ahead and was placed among the winners.

Though nearly everyone predicted his inevitable defeat in the challengers' semi-final with the experienced Rafael Vaganyan, Andrei routed him 6-2.

And, lastly, in the final with Artur Yusupov, the consensus of opinion among experts favoured the latter, all the more so as the strong-willed grand master led almost throughout the duel. But something unpredictable happened on the home stretch: Sokolov, winning three games in succession, wrested a longed-for victory from his opponent.

Had there been between these remarkable feats no more than modest results in other less prestigious competitions, or had the successes been achieved, so to speak, naturally, in the course of a tournament or match itself, they would have drawn general applause. Sceptical voices, however, are also heard. "He's lucky," some people say. "It's the vigour of youth," others explain. One should heed here the words of Grand Master Sergei Makarychev, who has known Andrei well for a long time: "Sokolov is one of those few players to whom luck is a natural feature of their style, with composure and optimism as its basis."

"Sokolov boasts strong nerves and self-confidence," chess coach Mark Dvoretsky said. "With such qualities, one can come out on top in complex situations."

Andrei's style of play is an unusual one. It goes without saying that it has not yet reached its definitive form and is fast evolving, but one can observe even now both the logic of his strategies and their organic character. Sokolov has fine positional intuition and the ability to mount bold attacks and put up resourceful defences, though it is just the sharpness of his choice of openings and the aggressiveness of his strategies that are, perhaps, most typical of his temperamental manner of play.

Andrei is a man with a cheerful disposition. He likes to be in the company of friends and enjoys singing and accompanying himself on his guitar. Those who know him more intimately, however, notice both his introversion and the complexity of his resolute personality. "His nervous system and drive are very strong," world champion Garri Kasparov gives him his due. "Andrei is a sportsman," says Anatoly Karpov, and to him this is the highest praise, all the more so as he has also said: "I'll face a serious opponent."

To all appearances, Sokolov does not quail before eminent chess players. It is said that, when asked about whom he would play—Kasparov or Karpov, he answered slyly: "I hope I'll have to play both!" It must be assumed that this is not the bravado of youth but faith in his own strength.

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SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION

The dawn is breaking.
Sunrays, like hands,
raise from the East.
Climbs Comrade
Podvoisky into the
car waiting,
"Now off to Smolny,"
he wearily says.
"It's all done."

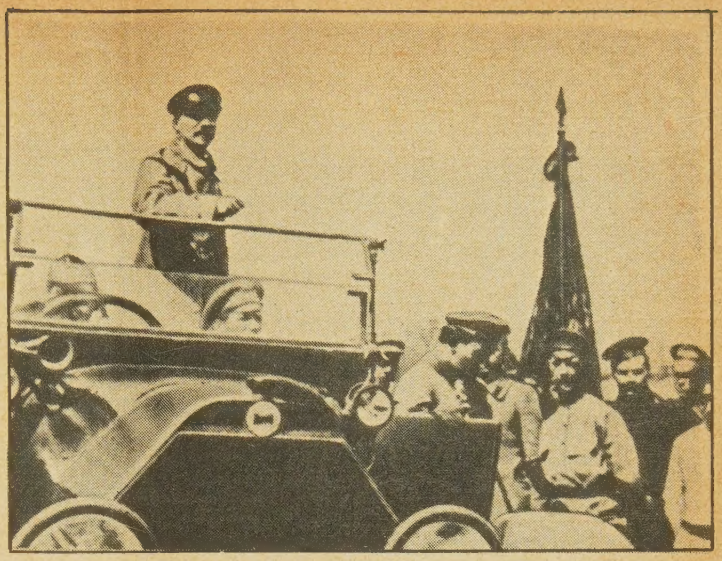
V. Mayakovsky

On the night of October 24, 1917, the salvo of the cruiser Aurora was the signal for the Red Guards to storm the Winter Palace, the last refuge of the Provisional Government. The Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee was headed by Nikolai Podvoisky, a member of the Bolshevik Party.

In the years preceding the October Revolution, Podvoisky was constantly in and out of jail. Once he was brutally beaten up by police after a rally. Gravely injured, he was arrested at home and taken to prison on a stretcher. The doctors said the prisoner would not survive. So they let Podvoisky out—to die. But he recovered and continued his struggle.

In prison, Podvoisky studied military science. He was aware that the workers and peasants would soon need an army of their own. After the revolution he became the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissar for Military Affairs and Chairman of the All-Russia Collegium established to organize the Red Army. "Nothing and no one can defeat me, because I am a disciple of Lenin. I understand Lenin, I follow him and I try to use his methods," wrote Podvoisky.

Yaroslavl, the city where he began his revolutionary activity, is the location for the shooting of a new film, "Nikolai Podvoisky." The film will be a tribute to this soldier of the Revolution.



● **1918. Front in the Civil War.**

● **N.I. Podvoisky, 1934.**

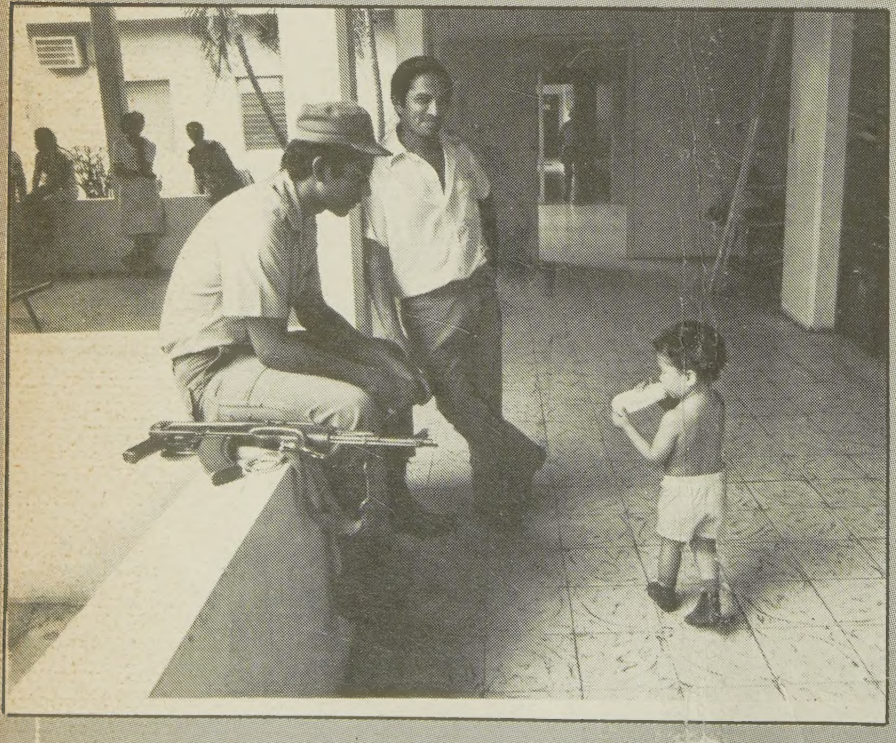
● **Still from the film. Podvoisky is played by young actor Vladimir Antonik.**

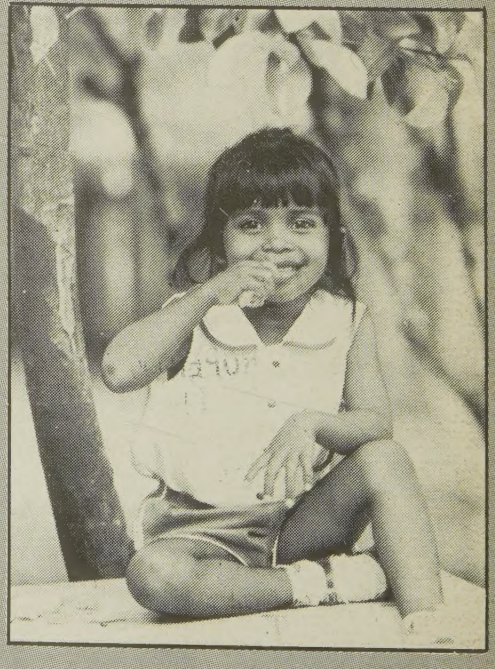
Photos by courtesy of Nikolai Podvoisky's daughter Nina, and Valery Kuzin

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE PHOTO AND GRAPHICS CONTEST

Photos by Vladimir VYATKIN (U.S.S.R.)

My father defends the revolution. Young Sandinist.





From "Children of Nicaragua" series.

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